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THE NORMAL SCHOOL AND SOME OF ITS ABNORMALITIES

An extended case study of factors affecting antiracist multicultural education school improvement strategies in a secondary school

Don Lee B. Ed. (Hons), M. Ed.

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

September, 1998

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For Councillor Colin Saunders, a politician with integrity.

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ABSTRACT

'Race', cultural diversity and equality of opportunity as issues affecting school effectiveness and improvement, and responses through antiracist multicultural education, are examined using mainly qualitative research methods. Development of grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) research strategies and progressive focusing of comparative data analysis are applied at institutional, departmental and individual levels of enquiry to identify and analyse factors affecting antiracist multicultural education's anticipated adoption and implementation at Stepford School and Community college.

Stepford's historical, social and institutional contexts, related policy and curriculum development, leadership, and external and internal communities of interest are identified as factors contributing to the concept of the "normal" school and its organisational defensive routine (Argyris, 1992), "the exceptional school", both resistant to antiracist multicultural education.

Although overt or direct resistance to antiracist multicultural education was inconspicuous, complex strategies, including contradictory institutional impression management for different purposes and audiences, are revealed whereby Stepford, its structures, processes and individual organisational members evaded its development. Confidently predicted antiracist multicultural education developments did not occur but tentative recommendations are offered concerning effective management of educational change in which 'race' and cultural diversity are operative, and about related research.

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Part 1: 1. Introduction and Rationale

"We believe that the development of the more broadly based, pluralistic approach to education [...] which is the central theme of this Report, constitutes possibly the most urgent and important challenge facing the education system today. One of the major reasons for the hitherto limited and disappointingly slow rate of progress in recognising and responding to this challenge has in our view been the absence of a coherent overall strategy for stimulating developments and co-ordinating initiatives"

Swann Committee Report,
March 1985, (p.344)

Rose et al (1969) refer to sustained resistance to change in schools when migrants' children arrived in them in substantial numbers in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Subsequent attempts to introduce an education broadly identified as "multicultural" into mainly White schools, in recognition of Britain's changing cultural characteristics were also frequently dismissed as irrelevant (Gaine, 1987). The research reported in this thesis was prompted by my own recognition that, although I had been professionally involved in multicultural education for more than twenty five years in different parts of England, I was unable to nominate a single instance in which antiracist multicultural education developments had been sustained beyond an initial, usually policy development, phase or contributed identifiably to a secondary school's effectiveness or improvement. In other words, my own experience confirmed Swann's (1985, p.344) perception of "the lack of a coherent overall strategy for stimulating developments and co-ordinating initiatives" but it was also evident that strategies for monitoring and evaluating such developments were few and of variable quality. However, teachers' confidence that the Race Relations Act's

(1976) requirements could be given practical expression through education seemed to grow in the 1980's, particular impetus being by the Swann Committee's Report (1985).

In 1988, when my research began, there seemed to be little overt opposition to multicultural education in schools and colleges (Troyna & Ball, 1985). Indeed, antiracist multicultural education policy statements proliferated at Local Education Authority and school levels, and increasing interest in, and attention to, management of change in education generally might have been expected to ensure their sustained implementation.

Marland (198, p.122) describes a post-Swann, multicultural education research and development agenda which includes the need for close examination of "What happens in school", observing that

"Because of the comparative weakness of school management and school management studies, we do not know enough about the interrelationship between LEA policies and schools, nor very importantly between school policies and pupils' actual experiences".

I resolved, therefore, to examine the management of developmental processes in schools with clearly stated commitments to multicultural education, and to try to identify factors affecting its implementation. I felt that such research might make an informed contribution to developments in schools with which I was professionally concerned, and that it might contribute more generally to the accumulation of theory concerned with multicultural education in English schools. Also, as the study progressed, complex questions began to emerge about the effectiveness of different kinds of educational management research in situations in which 'race' and cultural diversity are operative. Addressing those kinds of questions became an important additional part of my project.

I recognised that discovery of a guaranteed method of successfully implementing multicultural education developments in schools was unlikely, but I would have been reasonably satisfied to identify some key factors positively affecting them - and others having negative effects.

Proposals, early in 1988, to close two very dissimilar 13-18 comprehensive schools, "Eastwick" and "Midwich", and to open the new Stepford school and community college on the site of one of them, offered a notional base line from which to observe, record and analyse anticipated multicultural education developments. Accordingly, I proposed to examine how a secondary school's ethos, organisation and management, its efficiency, effectiveness and internal and external relationships, might be brought into harmony with the Swann Committee's recommendations concerning multicultural "Education for All".

My research comprised an extended case study set in a cultural frame of reference in which mainly qualitative data were gathered in an attempt to answer the questions posed at the end of this introduction. An initial orientation fieldwork phase, from February to August, 1988, focusing mainly on political, social, community and institutional contexts and influences, as discussed in chapter 4, revealed no antiracist and very few multicultural education developments in either of the two schools that were about to combine. The subsequent, main research phase, concerned with Stepford's anticipated antiracist multicultural education policy's implementation, commenced in September, 1988. During this period, I became directly responsible for providing multicultural education professional development for all the school's teaching staff and my research role was necessarily affected. At the end of two years, it became clear that antiracist multicultural education developments had not occurred at Stepford, although key actors insisted that they would. Therefore, I continued my field work for a further year to ensure that I did not

miss developments that might still occur but also to confirm and improve my understanding about why they were unlikely to do so.

Policy and its expression through curriculum development, leadership, relationships between schools and their communities and individual teacher's attitudes and behaviour were all identified as factors affecting multicultural education developments separately and in interaction. Overt racism was not identified as a factor negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments in any of the schools studied but its unconscious institutional expression and mono-culturalism, together with "normal" school management structures and processes examined in chapter 9 did affect them.

The aims of this study, therefore, were to:

(i) Identify factors positively and negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments.

Would certain organisational forms or specific management strategies - particularly in relation to the management of change - be more conducive to antiracist multicultural education developments than others? What kinds of complementary or conflicting factors integral to those structures and processes - such as leadership, relationships with pupils, parents and communities served, and teachers' understanding attitudes and behaviour - might be identified as influencing developments? What kinds of "external" social and political factors might have a bearing on developmental processes and outcomes?

Additionally, what factors directly associated with the multicultural education, such as cultural diversity or racism, discussed in the first part of chapter 2, might affect individual

and organisational responses? Questions such as these are addressed theoretically in the literature review that follows and in empirical research data analysis in part 2.

- (ii) To improve understanding of the management of antiracist multicultural education development as a school improvement strategy in culturally diverse schools.

My initial enquiries suggested that very few theoretical or empirical studies concerned with management of multicultural or antiracist education developments had been published and for this reason my research strategy could not be based on previously existing literature. However, it was thought probable that reference to relevant parts of other multicultural or antiracist education studies might confirm or reinforce findings from my own inductive empirical research .

- (iii) To identify effective research strategies for studying the management of antiracist multicultural education developments given the paucity of either theoretical or empirical studies in that area.

Given the extended case study research strategy adopted here, the mainly qualitative research methods used, and perceptions of the substantive topic as contentious, what might be the most effective ways of gathering relevant and reliable data, and maintaining research access? And how might the effects of whole school developments of the kind considered here be most precisely identified and evaluated? These are questions addressed in chapter 3 concerned with research methodologies, in part 2 concerned with empirical research data analysis, and in reflections on my own experience as researcher in chapter 10.

Although these research aims were not fully satisfied, several insights into the management of antiracist multicultural education developments as a school improvement strategy were revealed, and further research questions were clarified. Consequently, it was possible to draw conclusions about factors negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford School and Community College, to make tentative recommendations about organisational and management strategies likely to make those developments more effective and to suggest strategies for more reliable methods than had been available previously for researching into, and evaluating, them.

Part 1, Chapter 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter critically reviews antiracist multicultural education and educational management literature to offer initial theoretical responses to questions raised in the preceding introductory chapter. It discusses, on the one hand, concepts and issues of 'race', cultural diversity and the meanings and purposes of educational developments, reflecting contemporary Britain's cultural diversity: on the other, it examines organisation and management factors likely to affect antiracist multicultural education policy and curriculum development, leadership, links with communities served, and individual teacher responses. Discussion of theoretical and empirical studies concerned with these two dimensions emphasises the importance of culture, ideology and power in the persistence of schools' values, structures and processes.

Introduction

Glaser & Strauss (1967, p.37) suggest that

"An effective strategy is, at first, literally, to ignore the literature of theory and fact on the area under study in order to assure that the emergence of categories will not be contaminated by concepts more suited to different areas. Similarities and convergences with the literature can be established after the analytic core of categories has emerged".

If opportunities to study planned developments at Stepford School and its predecessors were to be taken as they occurred, extensive preparatory reading was impossible but few theoretical or empirical studies concerning school improvement through multicultural education developments had been published. Townsend and Brittan's (1972) surveys of school organisation, Davies' (1986) theoretical organisational development review and Lyseight-Jones (1989) professional development theories, all from multicultural education perspectives, were among the very few relevant studies identified before my fieldwork began. Smith and Tomlinson's (1989) examination of educational achievement in "multicultural comprehensives" refers incidentally to school management structures and processes and Wallace and McMahon's (1994) "flexible planning" study is concerned with multiethnic school management - but in primary schools. Foster's (1990), Gillborn's (1990) and Mac an Ghail's (1988) research into policy and practice in multiethnic were more concerned with interpersonal and social relations than management per se. McCarthy and Webb's (1990) and Baptiste et al's (1990) discussions of multicultural education leadership are set in a United States of America context.

However, Gillborn's later study (1995) examines management of antiracist policy development and implementation in three secondary schools in considerable detail. Adopting a micropolitical (Ball, 1987) analytical framework, he focuses on the activities and effects of "core group" teacher change agents in three secondary schools, and their relationships with their head-teachers, senior management teams and colleagues. However, this work was published too late to have any significant influence on my own research.

This chapter's references, whether published before, during or after my fieldwork ceased, serve several different purposes in:

(i) contributing to my understanding of relationships between antiracist multicultural education developments and the management of school improvement;

(ii) identifying a range of relevant theoretical and empirical multicultural education and management in education research strategies to inform my own research methods (chapter 3) and analysis of empirical data presented and discussed in Part 2.

2.1 'Race', Racism and Cultural Diversity in Education

'Race' and cultural diversity in education are relatively recent fields of study although well documented since the 1960's. Four major surveys (Daniel, 1966/ Smith, 1974/ Brown, 1982/ Modood et al, 1997) have sequentially analysed empirical evidence about ethnic minorities' circumstances and how they compare with those of the White population. From time to time, further research has been published which draws on these surveys in

examining a full range of social issues from those perspectives (Rose, 1969/ Peach et al. 1996), or enquires into 'race' and cultural diversity in relation to a specific aspect of public services and their effects, including education (Swann, 1985/ Eggleston, 1986).

In Gillborn's (1995) study, the impetus for the developments examined was increasing ethnic diversity in the student population of the schools concerned but, as Gaine (1987) has argued, this should not preclude some kind of educational response to the fact of Britain's cultural diversity in "mainly-White" schools. What seems to be most important is that members of educational organisations should be able to recognise and respond to changing social and cultural circumstances in their immediate or wider social environments.

James' (1980) typology (reproduced here in simplified form as figure 2.1, p.11) is no more than an heuristic device but it serves to distinguish a number of different theoretical antiracist multicultural education positions discussed in this chapter and throughout the thesis. It is important to recognise that the theoretical basis for each of these positions is contested; that the time frame in which James sets them may need to be varied in different locations, and that they may coexist in the same context. However, some of James' typifications were still recognisable in the schools studied ten years after his article was published.

Lieberman and Miller (1992, p.23) argue that, because teaching has no clear code of practice, or defined knowledge and core skills for teaching, individual teachers have to decide for themselves how to put policy into practice but Lyseight-Jones (1989, p. 39) observes that, "Incorrect or inadequate definition of the issue will lead to inappropriate outcomes. At best, such an outcome could be called tokenism". Indeed, different informants' interpretations of the substantive subject, antiracist multicultural education,

	social ideology	education ideology	teaching methods	curriculum content	research interest	organisation
1. Assimilation	Absorption into homogeneous society	banking or "bucket filling"	Emphasis on ESOL/correcting dialect	No modification of traditional ethno-centric curriculum	Immigrants' backgrounds/ cultural adjustment	Dispersal, bussing reception centres
2. Compensation	Social democratic/ justice	Compensatory	Systematic behaviourist	Some attempted relevance to learner	deficit hypothesis: minority languages as disadvantages	Withdrawal groups/remedial classes
3. Separatism	Self-help, political action by minorities	Knowledge as power	Legitimation of minority group identities	Black Studies, Community languages	internal dynamics of minority groups/ minority language	Voluntary evening/week-end classes
4. Multicultural	Libertarian left/ non-standard life styles	Child centred, 'open' school	Collaborative learning	openness to all cultures by all teachers/pupils	Intrinsic values of minority cultures/ languages	Responsibility of every teacher/ support by LEA
5. Moral	Liberal/ rational autonomous individuals	Education for rationality/moral autonomy	Open discussion/ teacher as neutral chairperson	Humanities Curriculum Project	Psychological and social explanations of racism	Responsibility mainly in Humanities
6. Political	Socialist: racism and class	Education to bring about social change	Teacher identifying with student problems	Socio-political issues	Defining skills to fight unjust society	Teachers and pupils in political organisations

Table 2.1: A typology of "Ideologies in Multicultural Education": Adapted from James (1980, p.90)

and their different responses to the processes of managing its implementation, can be seen to have direct bearing on my research findings. None of this absolves me from the responsibility of making clear my own understanding of antiracist multicultural education's meanings and purposes, if only to substantiate at different anticipated developmental stages whether or not antiracist multicultural education of one kind or another had been adopted and implemented.

Gundara (1986, p.4) pointed out the lack of agreement over nomenclature and a poverty of theoretical concepts in this area of study, as well as a lack of consensus about its relevance to teachers. Klein (1984) sought broad practitioner agreement for a perception of multicultural education which had "antiracism at its heart" and Grinter (1985) appealed for "bridging the gulf" as a means of satisfying "the need for antiracist multicultural education". However, such appeals seemed more intended to call the faithful to order, to avoid potentially divisive and destructive arguments about definitions, than to illuminate their understanding.

As Modgil et al (1986) observe, "The Interminable Debate" is far from concluded.

2.1.1 Multicultural Education

Lynch (1983, p.10) argues that

"Given that the United Kingdom is a multicultural society, then all else should flow from that; its laws, its institutions, its schooling and its curriculum. So the question of whether our society has always been multicultural and

whether other societies are such is academic, for the contemporary fact is that we are one now".

In its discussion of the meaning of "a good education", the Swann Committee (1985, p.318) offered a number of definitions that assisted its members in articulating its concept of "Education for All". Citing an un-referenced CNAA Multicultural Working Group document, it asserts that

"Education for diversity and for social and racial harmony suggests that the richness of cultural variety in Britain, let alone over the world, should be appreciated and utilised in education curricula at all levels. This can only have beneficial effects for all students in widening cultural awareness and in developing sensitivity towards the cultural identity and practices of various groups".

James (1980, p. 90) sets multicultural education within a "generally libertarian left" social ideology (figure 2.1, p.11), making "links with other movements for 'liberating' non-standard lifestyles". He describes its educational ideology as "child-centred" within an open school context and characterised by collaborative learning and curriculum integration. Curriculum content is described as "permeated by openness to all cultures [...] drawn from (a) world-wide range. Minority cultures (are) introduced to all pupils".

Arora and Duncan (1986, p.2) observe that multicultural education is neither "an additional competing subject in schools", nor is it about teaching Black, Asian or Caribbean studies.

"We take the view that multicultural education in schools is about what happens via the curriculum whether planned or hidden. And if the curriculum is to be multicultural in approach, then it should be appropriate to the education of all children whatever their background by reference to a diversity of cultures".

Theoretically, minority ethnic group pupils will be encouraged by such positive cultural recognitions and representations of their cultural identities to have confidence in the education their schools provide (Verma & Bagley, 1982). Furthermore, pupils in mainly White schools will develop positive attitudes towards minority groups. In this somewhat idealised interpretation are embedded Race Relations Act (1976) notions about equality of educational opportunity, individual and group achievement, and good community relations.

In James' (1980, p.90) formulation, "multiculturalism" followed hard on the heels of "assimilationism" in the '60s, "compensation" in the late 60's and "separatism" (meaning voluntary Black separation from White educational organisations and norms) in the early 1970's. However, the Swann Committee's (1985) enquiries suggested that few schools studied, or the LEA's in which they were located, had moved significantly in the direction of multicultural "Education for All" - or even for minority ethnic group pupils. In other words, the assimilation of all pupils into "mainstream British" (meaning White, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant) society, or their separation from it until they could be, remained the unstated aim of most schools. James' (1980, p.90) assimilationist typology identifies "immigrants" cultural backgrounds as problematic for education, and refers to dispersal policies (Rose et al, 1969, pp. 265 - 273), bussing and reception centres as preferred (separatist) strategies for ESOL learning. By contrast, James (1980, p.90) describes

“organisation for multicultural education” as being vested in “responsibility on every teacher, support from resources centres, in-service courses and team teaching” in the interests of all students and pupils, including ethnic minority students. Assimilationist strategies may still be identified in linguistically and culturally diverse schools in which emphasis is placed on minority ethnic group students learning English as a second or other language (ESOL), whilst their first language is ignored, and students' culturally distinctive forms of dress are not permitted. Epstein (1993, p.43) argues, therefore, that schools should not be described as “multicultural” simply because of their students' cultural backgrounds; more important are schools' ethos, policies and practices.

Gillborn (1995, p.6) observes that “antiracist approaches are commonly contrasted with multicultural strategies, where the latter are criticised for a narrow focus on curriculum content and ‘positive images’ which do not engage with questions of power and racism in institutional contexts”. Sarup (1986, pp 30/31) describes the multicultural ideology as “attacked from both the political Right and the Left”. He argues that “right wing” critics, believing that Black people should be integrated into British society, expect teachers to treat all children alike, no attention being paid to ‘racial’ and cultural differences. On the other hand, he regards “left wing” demands for multicultural education for, mainly, Black children as an irrelevance based on erroneous perceptions that they have a poor self-image, distracting attention from the need to teach basic educational skills effectively. Both these multicultural education perspectives deny structural aspects of racism in society and its education systems because “multiculturalism excludes discussion of power; it takes no note of the power relations between white people and black, both past and present” (Sarup, 1986, pp30/31).

It seems, then, that "multicultural education" may be defined both positively and negatively, even ambiguously, by different groups or individuals at different times. Therefore, more precise approaches to definition, description and analysis of those perceptions, and explanations of the reasons for those differences, are needed.

Additionally, the concept of "pluralism", as used in the Swann Committee Report (1985), has proved problematic in definition and practice but has been adopted by several local authorities as a basis for all-embracing "equality of opportunity" policies (Verma, 1989 b). Verma (1989 a, p.2) interprets Swann's (1985) concept of pluralist education as emerging "naturally" from assumptions about British society's pluralist composition,

"stressing the educational benefits to be derived from an enhancement of racial and cultural diversity and accepting that the maintenance of existing cultures need not be the school's prime objective".

Bullivant (1981) and Zubrzycki (1986), among others, expose the "dilemma" of pluralism as an end in itself. Its philosophical meanings, particularly in relation to education can be surprisingly diverse (Haydon et al, 1987), its social effects contradictory (Parekh, 1986) and its short term benefits for minority groups in, for example, conferring independent group status and facilitating intra-group cohesion, may conflict with attempts to secure justice and equality in the mainstream of society. However, it could inform a context within which equality, opposition to racism and respect for differences of perception and expression might be worked towards but its problematic nature is exposed in the recognition that South Africa under Apartheid was a pluralist state.

Pluralism's most helpful contribution to antiracist multicultural education developments, therefore, could be in informing consultation and participative decision making processes, giving wide ranging lay and professional communities of interest confidence in their involvement (Gill, 1985). This posits pluralism less as rhetoric and ideology and more as a practical means of accommodating disparate interests and minimising negative effects of unresolved differences.

2.1.2 Antiracist Education

(i) Concepts of 'race'.

In the 1991 Reith lectures, "*The Language of the Genes*", geneticist Steven Jones argued that "the differences between African and African are still greater than those between Africans and the rest of the world". In other words, attempts to classify and differentiate between populations and individuals on the basis of gross phenotypical differences are scientifically unsound. The word 'race' as used throughout this study in inverted commas indicates its highly contested nature but it clearly informs complex issues affecting most aspects of contemporary society and cannot be ignored.

Anthias et al (1990. pp. 22/23), in drawing a distinction between "the concept of race and the phenomena of racisms", observes that

"The construct of race has to be analytically separated from racism although they are clearly related. This is because the separation of human populations according to notions of a human stock difference, the characteristic mark of the construct of race, need not posit a hierarchy of

groups - such a hierarchisation has been the product of contemporary formulations of race difference”.

Dismissing ‘race’ as a socially constructed and contextually defined concept, however, does little to assist those affected by racism, or our understanding of how racial discrimination works in practice. Much of the debate with which my research is concerned recognises that, for many individuals and groups, ‘race’, racism and antiracism has specific meaning in relation to ways in which their lives are organised and managed. For this reason, the Race Relations Act (1976) makes statutory requirements of local authorities as service providers and as employers. Section 71 of the Act, as follows, has been adopted by most local authorities in England, including the anonymous “Loamshire” of my study, as a basis for their ‘race’ equality policies.

In general terms, the 1976 Act requires every local authority

“to make appropriate arrangements with a view to securing that their various functions are carried out with due regard to the need

(a) to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination;

(b) to promote equality of opportunity, and good relations between persons of different racial groups”.

These requirements are binding on all institutions such as schools and colleges, and upon individuals who provide services through them although the entire Act has been the

subject of periodic critical review (Brown & Gay, 1985/ Commission for Racial Equality, 1991/ McCrudden et al, 1991).

(ii) Racism and Racial Discrimination

Cashmore and Troyna (1983, p.35) define racism as

“The doctrine that the world’s population is divisible into categories based on physical differences which can be transmitted genetically. Invariably this leads to the conception that the categories are ordered hierarchically so that some elements of the world’s population are superior to others”,

Racism may be identified, as shown in figure 2.2 below in certain national and international political, economic and legislative measures (“structural” racism), in the policies of organisations as various as schools, factories, clubs and places of entertainment (“institutional” or “organisational racism) and in individuals’ behaviour towards each other (“inter-personal” racism).

MODES						
LEVELS	DIRECT	INDIRECT	OVERT	COVERT	[.....]	[.....]
STRUCTURAL						
INSTITUTIONAL						
INTERPERSONAL						

Figure 2.2 A conceptual framework depicting levels and modes of operational racism. (Lee, 1989)

(a) "Structural" racism

In societies in which one particular group has been in political or economic power or ascendancy for a long time, even the processes whereby those societies generate and maintain themselves tend to favour the more powerful group. There is a hegemonic (Mac an Ghaill, 1988/ Troyna & Hatcher, 1992/ Cummins, 1996) structuring of social and political affairs, as well as cultural affairs, that both conditions and is expressive of powerful majority interests. In matters of race and ethnic relations, this includes some legislation that advantages ethnic minorities but much which disadvantages them (Griffiths & Troyna, 1995). It also includes the uneven distribution of financial and other resources to minority groups, and contributes to a climate of disregard for the powerless and disadvantaged. For example, "the media" (as national and local newspapers, radio and television) have such powerful influence on the ways in which the general public thinks about, and expresses, important social issues, including race and ethnic relations, that their influence on society may be described as "structural" (Troyna, 1981).

The non-publication of the Schools Council's Humanities Curriculum Project's "Race" pack (Stenhouse et al, 1982) and its Multicultural Education project (Jeffcoate, 1979) suggested a structural level of antipathy towards issues of 'race' and cultural diversity within education itself. Tomlinson (1991) argues that effective removal of 'race' and cultural diversity issues from the National Curriculum agenda was confirmed when the report of the working party set up to make recommendations to the National Curriculum Council (NCC) on "multicultural" issues was rejected in June 1990. Riley's (1994) study of "Quality and Equality" as complementary and competing influences in schools argues that the pressures of the ERA generally, but mainly the National Curriculum and related

assessment measures, were "ideologically unpropitious to multiculturalism and antiracism" and to equal opportunities generally.

As Gillborn (1995, pp. 31/32) observes

"The place of 'race' and ethnic equality amid (Education Reform Act) reforms has always been uncertain. Several writers and pressure groups expressed deep concern at the ethnocentric character of the original 'reform' proposals. At first 'multicultural issues' were officially characterised as a cross-curricular theme (DES 1989: para. 3.8). Later in the same year this changed to a cross-curricular dimension (NCC, 1989) - a category that carries less force in terms of specific curricular implications".

(b) "Institutional" racism

An organisational structure that has become "institutionalised" (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p. 179) is "taken for granted by members as efficacious and necessary; thus, it serves as an important causal source of stable patterns of behaviour". Central to institutional theory is recognition of organisations' structures and routines as "direct reflections and effects of rules and structures built into (institutionalised within) wider environments" (Scott and Meyer, 1994, p.2). Most public organisations adopt, or have imposed upon them, positions in relation to contemporary social issues such as 'race' and equal opportunities. The infamous and now outlawed "Whites only" working men's club is an

extreme example of institutional or organisational racism and sexism but it would be unwise to believe that its practices have been consigned to history.

Sarup (1986, p.34) defines institutional racism as the racism that persists in large organisations and institutions such as the trade unions', schools' and hospitals', and the legal and medical professions' (Commission for Racial Equality, 1988) taken-for-granted customs, routine practices and procedures, and in resistance to anything that might change them. "A National Curriculum constructed without consultation with the 'ethnic minorities', would be an example [.....] of institutional racism". Whilst accepting Sarup's definition as helpful, it is my contention that the National Curriculum is a central government, and therefore structural rather than institutional, attempt to control, among other things, teaching and learning specifically, and the curriculum's cultural orientation generally. This is not to say that institutional racism is only a product of structural, or "top-down" influences; Scott (1994, p.60) observes that it is essential not to lose sight of "the human agents" who create, interpret and apply institutionalised processes, and either conform to, modify or disobey, them. Formal institutional theory (Meyer and Rowan, 1977/ Scott and Meyer, 1994), therefore, may be helpful in explaining ways in which racism, monoculturalism and inequality can become rationalised and normalised characteristics of organisations such as schools.

Gillborn (1995, pp. 130-134), referring to University of London Institute of Education research (Whitty et al, 1994), suggests that few individual subject departments or faculties, as sub-units of institutions, take account of cultural diversity or 'race' equality issues in their teaching, and that attempts to integrate these issues into low-status, cross-curricular study themes, such as "Citizenship" may actually reduce the possibility that they will be addressed.

(c) "Inter-personal" racism

At yet another level can be recognised individual attitudes and behaviours that have independent but cumulative effect on race and ethnic relations within an organisation and within society more widely. Racially explicit physical or verbal abuse which, at its most violent, may lead to "Murder in the Playground" (MacDonald et al, 1989), is a clear example of inter-personal racism. Sarup (1991, p. 33) describes it as

"the racism that occurs between individuals. This is largely the realm of the social psychologist and includes the understanding of personal bias, prejudice, stereotyping and so forth".

It seems certain that attempts to eliminate racism in society, or even to curb its worst excesses, must take action at all three levels indicated on figure 2.2's vertical axis.

(d) "Modes" of racism

Figure 2.2's (p.19) horizontal axis refers to racism's different expressive forms or modes. In addition to the distinction drawn in the Race Relations Act (1976) between direct and indirect racism, other contrasting modes such as "overt" and "covert" might be introduced into the figure to aid analysis.

Thus, it is immediately apparent that apartheid is a direct, overt, conscious and intentional form of structural racism; that certain kinds of entry requirements to professions (Commission for Racial Equality, 1988/ Runnymede Trust and The Radical Statistics Race Group, 1980/ Bhat et al, 1988/ Skellington, 1992) may be indirectly, unintentionally, and institutionally racist in the ways in which they exclude some ethnic minority group members, and that "ethnic" jokes, whilst overt in the sense that they refer quite openly to particular groups of people, may be unintentionally and unconsciously hurtful.

This discussion serves to emphasise how variously racism may be recognised and the importance of detailed, precise concepts and terminology in order to understand and describe its in the kinds of changing educational and environmental circumstances described in chapter 4 are to be addressed.

Racial discrimination is racism at work at these different operational levels and in the different modes shown in figure 2.2 (p.19), and results in racial disadvantage for its victims. Reference is made elsewhere in this thesis to researchers (Troyna and Hatcher, 1992/ Mac an Ghail, 1988) whose studies proceed on the assumption that racism, racial discrimination and racial disadvantage are endemic to British society and its education system. This is a better substantiated assumption than may be generally recognised. Karn (1997, p.266) suggests that "non-specialist readers" may well be unfamiliar with "the weight of evidence about the nature and incidence of discrimination in education, employment and housing as, despite the efforts of the CRE to publicise individual cases, there is no information in summarised form about the whole picture". Consequently, Karn (1997, p. 266) argues, there is a danger that those unfamiliar with the wider picture will

dismiss it as just individual cases or studies based on small samples or 'impressionistic' methods".

(iii) 'Race' and ethnicity

Jenkins (in Rex & Mason, 1986) observes that ethnicity is a key factor in self-identification and a means of identification with other minority group interests, such as race equality, women's rights or class struggles. For example, an individual might claim membership of "minority ethnic", "Black", "Asian", "Sikh" or "Punjabi" groups depending on specific needs and circumstances. Therefore, I have adopted van Dijk's (1987) practice of using capital letters to distinguish Black and White as descriptions of individuals or groups whose identity is defined by imprecise, even contested, references to colour, culture or ethnicity.

In apparently practical matters such as census-taking (Ni Brolchain, 1990) and the monitoring of social (Bhat et al, 1988), educational (Gordon, 1992) and other trends, categorising different groups by ethnicity is contentious and needs to be treated with caution if not scepticism. Classification and analysis of educational achievement by ethnicity, although necessary if specific difficulties are to be identified and improvements made, can also lead to distorted impressions of certain groups' successes and failures, and to the neglect of others, as examined in chapter 5.

(iv) 'Race', Class and Gender

Similarities or differences of 'race', class and gender discrimination and their effect on educational disadvantage are a matter of debate (Mac an Ghaill, 1988/ Foster, 1990/

Troyna, 1993/ Griffiths & Troyna, 1995/ Gillborn & Gipps, 1996). Arnot (1985) suggests that 'race' and gender are "a natural pair" of policy problems, Yinger (1986) sees all three as "intersecting strands", while Cole (1989) argues that antiracist initiatives alone cannot be forced on people but must be linked with broader class and gender equality struggles. Anthias et al (1990) and Brandt (1986), however, both conclude that 'race' must be analysed as a distinct issue and not confused with class or gender questions.

Mirza (1986, p. 39) points out that

"Gender is an issue in the race and education debate, yet one can read through the entire 806-page Swann report and find a complete absence of any substantial or conclusive research with regard to the educational experience of black girls".

This kind of "silence" about gender issues in authoritative educational discourse, therefore, is similar to, and may be compounded with the silence about 'race' (Mukherjee in Grace, 1995, p. 169).

(v) Racial Disadvantage and Race Equality.

Genuine equality of educational opportunity is likely to entail, among other things, educational management strategies intended to overcome racial disadvantage. The House of Commons' Fifth Committee of Home Affairs Race Relations and Immigration Sub-Committee Inquiry (1981a, 1981b) recommended that Section 11 of the Local Government Act (1966) "be retained as the major vehicle of central government financial support for local authority programmes designed to combat racial disadvantage". Section 11

empowered the Home Secretary to pay grants in respect of staff employed by those local authorities who had to make special provision "in consequence of the presence within their areas of substantial numbers of immigrants from the Commonwealth whose language or customs differ from those of the community". (The Local Government Act, 1966, Section 11) A Home Office "Scrutiny" of the local administration of Section 11 funds (December, 1988) recommended that the same kind of additional needs support should be available to all minority ethnic groups and this was enacted by a private member's bill in 1993.

In the past decade, central government has shown concern that the targeting of Section 11 funding has been insufficiently accurate to meet these "additional needs". Home Office circular 7/84 requires employing authorities to identify Section 11 staff, specify their roles precisely and ensure that they receive appropriate training. Additional needs, however, is formally defined as the acquisition and development of ESOL, and support for minority ethnic group members of the community, including pupils and their parents, where their cultural backgrounds prevent them from benefiting from various services available to the rest of the community (Home Office, 1989). The Home Office's 1990 "information note" makes no reference to Section 11 funding being used for promoting good race relations or combating racism. Laudable and legitimate though these practices are, sources other than the Home Office - probably the Local Authority through its "mainstream" budgets and institutional practices - must be relied upon to put them into practice.

(vi) Racism, Antiracism and Antiracist Education

Although the study described here did not set out specifically to demonstrate that racism was a factor affecting antiracist multicultural education developments, attempts to do so would not have been easy or conclusive, as studies referred to earlier (Foster, 1990/

Gillborn, 1990 & Mac an Ghail, 1988), indicate. Mac an Ghail (1988) attempted to locate and define historically and socially the form of racism operating upon and within the schools studied, but concluded by citing Gilroy's (1987 p.208) observation that "Different racisms are found in different social formations and historical circumstances".

"New racism" (Short and Carrington, 1996, p.54) is more precisely concerned with negative attitudes and behaviours towards differences of culture and ethnicity rather than colour", and Donald & Rattansi (1992, p.1) argue that "Getting to grips with the dynamics of 'race', racism and antiracism in Britain today [...] means studying an ever-changing nexus of representation, discourse and power. And that requires a critical return to the concept of culture". Beverley Naidoo (1986, p.2) identifies different kinds of "racisms" in different contexts directed at individuals or groups of identifiably different appearance; different lifestyles (as experienced by, for example, travellers), religious beliefs (Jews) or linguistic expression (including dialect or accent), all of which may be a focus for cultural racism.

This has implications for research strategies discussed in chapter 3. Anything less than the most informed and sensitive approaches to collecting evidence about racism in education may be counterproductive, possibly jeopardising research access. Subjects of research setting out to study, for example, "Racism in Children's Lives" (Troyna & Hatcher, 1992), have been shown to be remarkably adroit in evading questions about 'race', or claiming that their responses were misinterpreted or reported out of context, or simply refusing to answer them.

Furthermore, as Gillborn observes (1995, p.44), if bodies such as the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) do not look for racism as a factor affecting school effectiveness, particularly achievement, we should not be surprised if it receives little mention in its reports. This means that racism adversely affects the quality of education experienced by ethnic minority teachers and students. Smith and Tomlinson's (1989) study of achievement in multiethnic comprehensive schools, and Foster's (1990) policy development study, both of which largely discount the effects of racism on minority ethnic group pupil's educational experiences, were not designed to address racism as a significant aspect of students' lives. Gillborn argues (1995 p.44) that "It is not safe, therefore, to assume that lack of evidence of racism can be interpreted as evidence of lack of racism".

Troyna (1993) and Gillborn (1995, p.40), among others, have argued that this kind of "deracialisation" of society's and education's policy agendas leaves the way clear for each new development to operate in racially inequitable ways. Grace's (1995, p.169) recognition of a "culture of silence on racial issues" cited earlier (p. 26) refers to Mukherjee's (1984) statement to all White educators that their racism had been in their silence on those issues. Griffiths and Troyna (1995) also explore the importance of silence on issues of race in educational policy discourse. This kind of "complex linguistic territory" Gillborn (1995, p.40) requires researchers to give attention to what is not - as much as what is - said in particular social and educational contexts.

James (1980, (p.90) perceives antiracist curriculum content as likely to emphasise socio-political issues, the social bases of all knowledge forms being made explicit and often emphasising local, working-class community issues. Antiracist education research, according to James, is "an occupation concerned with defining the skills needed to fight

for rights in an unjust society". Brandt (1986, 124/125) endorses this perception in his argument that its "acknowledged intention is to oppose in the education system whatever operates to oppress, repress or disenfranchise one set of pupils on the totally unjustifiable grounds of a perceived 'difference' within which there is an assumption of inherent inferiority".

2.1.3 Antiracist Multicultural Education

It follows from this discussion that "antiracist multicultural education", the all-embracing phrase used most frequently throughout this thesis, may be interpreted variously depending on national, local, institutional and individual social, historical, cultural and political influences, and depending on the extent to which elements of multiculturalism interact with antiracism in any particular context or period of time. Klein's (1984) reference to "multicultural education which has antiracism at its heart" is a useful shorthand way of describing such complexities. Brandt (1986, p.114) offers a more extended definition in which he refers to "a spectrum of positions from multicultural to antiracist education" from which no teacher in contemporary multicultural Britain could be professionally exempt, and Leicester (1989, p.26) argues that "There need be no gulf between multicultural and anti-racist education; that multicultural education ought to be anti-racist and that anti-racist education must [be] 'multicultural' to combat cultural racism".

Nonetheless, antiracist multicultural education, the substance of the anticipated developments to be studied here remains potentially ambiguous, certainly complex and multi-faceted, and probably contentious, all influencing ways in which its planned development might be managed and in which developments might be studied (Wallace and

McMahon, 1994). A key research question that emerges from this discussion, therefore, concerns the extent to which antiracist multicultural education represents a greater, because more complex and contentious, management of educational change challenge than other whole school, curricular, cross-curricular and extra-curricular developments. This question is revisited throughout this thesis.

The Swann Committee stated (Swann, 1985, p.319) its belief that

"a failure to broaden the perspectives presented to all pupils [.....] through their education leaves them inadequately prepared for adult life but also constitutes a fundamental mis-education, in failing to reflect the cultural diversity which is now a fact of life in this country".

The Committee also saw education as having a major role to play in countering racism which still persists in Britain today and which it believed constituted one of the chief obstacles to the realisation of a truly pluralist society. Foster (1990, p.11) observes that one of the central principles of both multicultural and antiracist education is equal opportunities, but he also argues that the education of students for "a non racist society" should include information about different cultures and ethnic minority groups, avoiding "over-simplified caricature". Sarup (1986, p.12), however, is concerned that teachers and learners should also consider ways in which societies are structured and organised and, specifically, how racism occurs, is reproduced and how it can be resisted. "Such teaching could not be conducted in an isolated or minor curriculum slot, but ought to become a central part of a comprehensive programme of social and political education".

These statements are neither definitive nor exhaustive, as discussion in this section has shown. Antiracist multicultural education can be based on a number of different and sometimes contradictory premises. Therefore it would be entirely at odds with the nature of the study described here to determine, at its outset, a definitive, or even preferred, meaning or model of either antiracist multicultural education or school management with which any school was expected to comply. It is much more pertinent that schools should consider different kinds of educational provision relevant to their particular learners' needs and try to implement them accordingly, but the Swann Committee's Report (1985) emphasises that some kind of antiracist multicultural "Education for All" is relevant to all teachers and students in all schools.

2.2 Management in Education

Introduction - Organisation and Management Theory in Education.

Like multicultural education, educational management in Britain is a relatively recently developed area of academic interest. Consequently, as with most new intellectual developments, its main quest has been for "scientific" respectability and acceptance, and the establishment of recognised "disciplines" and related "technologies" (Ball, 1990). This has been particularly evident in England since the Education Reform Act's implementation in 1988 with its emphasis on accountability by public education services.

Management in education professional development programmes, (for example, Bush et al, 1989 and Bennett et al, 1992) have proliferated in the past decade. Grace (1995, p.147) argues that these programmes are designed to equip school personnel to deal with technical and instrumental management responsibilities, such as "the logistics of finance, management and marketing", but that guidance and training to resolve the moral dilemmas

arising from school management in the later part of the Twentieth Century in multicultural Britain are neglected.

2.2.1 Schools as Organisations and Learning Organisations

Among the main questions (see pp. 77-78) considered by my research is whether or not there are organisational "types" of school and management strategies more conducive to developments in antiracist multicultural education than others. Beare et al (1989 pp.172-173) define organisations as "collectivities of people who define policies, generate structures, manipulate resources and engage in activities to achieve their desired ends in keeping with their own individual and collective values and needs".

This definition implies greater coincidence of individual and collective values and needs than are usually evident in most organisations, and the discrepancy between them is also an issue discussed throughout this thesis. The functional purposes of organisations in planning and achieving desired ends or outcomes are not ignored here, although more emphasis is given to their processes, both formal and informal, planned and unplanned, which may or may not be directly related to those outcomes.

Bush (1989, p.4) also suggests that a distinction can be made between organisation and management theory in terms of differences between Weberian (1947) specifications of bureaucratic, hierarchical organisation and management, and those that reject "the concept of the institution as a concrete reality". It is accepted here that schools may be studied from both perspectives although my later focus on organisations as "cultures" means that the latter specification is emphasised.

Morgan (1986, pp. 321/322), expanding this duality of perspective offers a multi-dimensional, "holographic" view observing that

"Any realistic approach to organisational analysis must start from a premise that organisations can be many things at one and the same time. [.....] If one truly wishes to understand an organisation it is much wiser to start from the premise that organisations are complex, ambiguous and paradoxical".

It also means that any study of schools as organisations must take account of individual members' interpretations of its policies and practices, and their own personal values and interests. Fullan (1982), very considerably, and Greenfield (1973/ 1993), almost exclusively, emphasise the importance of individual actor's agendas and behaviours in shaping the outcomes of change in education. Hoyle (1986, p.17) reminds us that any school's

"relatively stable patterns of interaction are based on a process of interpretation by organisational members. The organisation, though having ostensibly 'real' formal structures, is essentially the outcome of negotiation among members".

Morgan (1986, p.195) argues that all organisational activity should be analysed with "political" (Hoyle, 1986) or "micropolitical (Ball, 1987) activity in mind and that, inevitably, "The political metaphor (places) a knowledge of the role and use of power at the centre of organisational analysis".

Morgan (1986, p.120) also argues that understanding cultural factors that inform and shape individuals and their organisations will assist understanding of "cross-national" differences in organisational behaviour which, in turn, assists understanding of the peculiarities of our own organisations and their cultures.

"For one of the characteristics of culture is that it creates a form of ethnocentrism (sic). In providing taken-for-granted codes of action that we recognise as "normal" it leads us to see activities that do not conform with these codes as abnormal. A full awareness of the nature of culture, however, shows us that we are all equally abnormal in this regard,

and Duignan (1988, p. 81) recognises that

"While these (organisational) structures and procedures can act as enabling forces for cultural expression, they can also act as barriers and constraints".

In other words, they comprise complex inclusion and exclusion arrangements, ideological compatibilities and incompatibilities, shared symbols, language and meanings, together with considerable exercise of overt and latent power.

Schools may also be described as organisations in terms of their philosophies, objectives or purposes, and their main activities. Thus we refer to comprehensive schools, City Technology Colleges or "magnet" schools. We may also refer to them as "self-managing" (Caldwell & Spinks, 1987) or to their self-regenerating capacities and capabilities as "learning organisations" (Beare & Slaughter, 1993/ Clark, 1996/ Fullan, 1993/ Senge,

1990/ Sergiovanni, 1994/ Southworth, 1994). According to Senge (1990 p.14), a learning organisation is one that is "Continually expanding its capacity to create its future".

"'Survival learning' or what is more often termed 'adaptive learning' is important - indeed it is necessary. But for a learning organisation, 'adaptive learning' must be joined by 'generative learning', learning that enhances our capacity to create".

And, as Fullan (1993, p. viii) argues, "organisational learning" is necessary in

"a world where we will need generative concepts and capacities. What will be needed is the individual as inquirer and learner, mastery and know-how as prime strategies, the leader who expresses but also extends what is valued enabling others to do the same, team work and shared purpose which accepts both individualism and collectivism as essential to organisational learning, and the organisation which is dynamically connected to its environment because that is necessary to avoid extinction as environments are always changing".

Writers such as Fullan (1993) and Senge (1990) insist that the essential characteristic of learning organisations is "systems thinking" whereby change and development is not addressed piecemeal but is perceived to have "total organisation" (Argyris, 1992) implications and consequences.

This particular interpretation of schools as learning organisations, and the notion of organisational learning, seems particularly appropriate when considering their responses to

the dynamics of racism, cultural diversity and inequality in education but suggests tensions with externally imposed, institutionalised and standardised educational management practices such as those associated with the Education Reform Act (1988) or, less positively, with antisocial or anti-educational influences and practices prevalent in society as discussed earlier in this chapter (pp. 19-26). "Change to some moral purpose" (Fullan, 1993) therefore, is a theme revisited in section 2.2.4 and throughout what follows.

2.2.2 Institutional theory

Institutional theory, in particular, recognises organisations' structures and routines as "direct reflections and effects of rules and structures built into (institutionalised within) wider environments" (Scott and Meyer, 1994, p.2), their need to gain community and wider social legitimisation of their policies and practices, and to acquire resources from their immediate or wider environments. Central government's Section 11 funding has been discussed earlier (p.26) as a resource but the "commodification" of education (Grace, 1995, p.40), in which parents and other interest groups in the community are seen as consumers, makes them the major source of resources in terms of pupil related financial income. Consequently, securing parents' legitimisation of policies and practices, and satisfying their expectations of social, cultural and educational accountability, are essential for schools' survival.

Hardy and Vieler-Porter (1992, pp.106/107) observe that

"The argument for open admissions is of course that the 'best schools' will survive and thrive through the mechanism of consumer choice. In fact the result will be social polarisation and racial segregation. "

In such circumstances, the consequent downward spiralling of student numbers and formula related funding seems likely, not only to result in poorly funded multiethnic schools but, eventually, their loss to communities that can ill-afford to send their children to more distant schools. In institutional theory terms, therefore, schools are perceived to be dependent on, and - at the same time - socially and culturally conditioned by, "communities of interest" such as parents, as discussed in more detail in chapter 7. To that end, they are also seen to be expressive of "the cultural rules of society itself". (Meyer et al., 1994, p.16)

The processes of institutionalisation, between and within organisations, "through the structuring (of) everyday life within the standardised, impersonal rules that constitute social organisation as a means to collective purpose" (Meyer et al, 1994, p.21), are generally referred to as:

- (i) "habitualisation", in which behaviours are developed empirically and adopted in order to solve, or to give the impression of solving, a recurring problem;
- (ii) "objectification", which entails adoption of those behaviours' generally shared social meanings so that they can be "exteriorised" (Berger and Luckman, 1967) or transplanted to new organisational contexts, and
- (iii) "sedimentation", processes through which those behaviours seem to have acquired the status of received truth and wisdom for all members of the organisation, or clusters of organisations, and there is a recognition of their historical continuity.

These processes and their effects, and the potential reciprocity of influential relationships between the “organisational field” (Scott, 1994, pp,70/71) or environment, schools as organisations and individual actors, are represented in Scott’s (1994, p.57) “layered institutional model (figure 2.3).

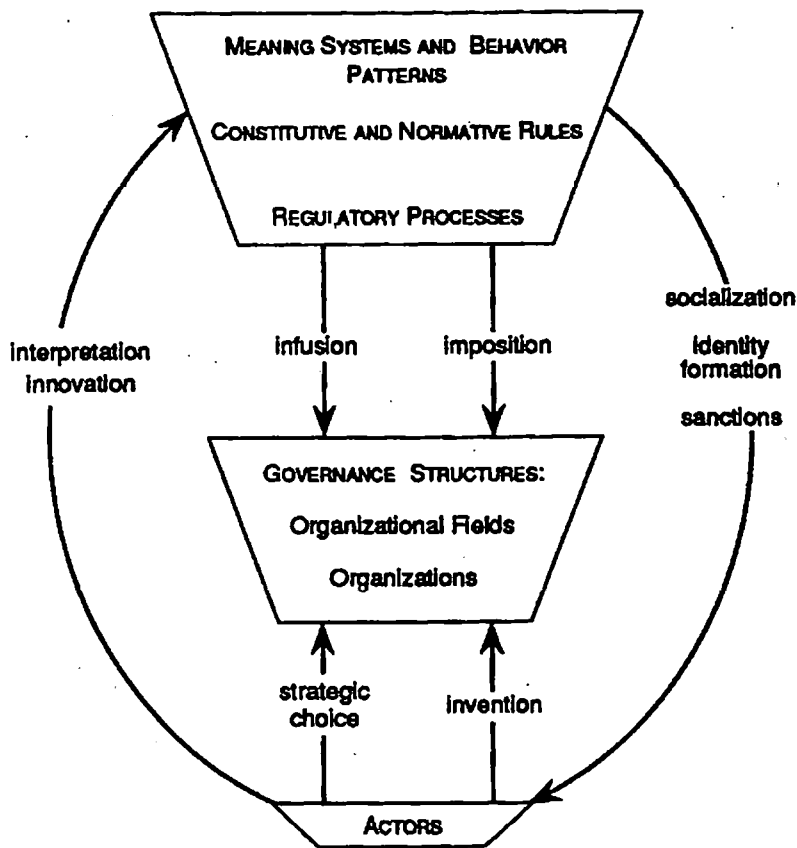


Figure 2.3: A layered model of institutional analysis, from Scott W.R. (1994) “Institutions and Organisations”, in Scott W.R. and Meyer J.W. Institutional organisations and Environments, London, Sage.

Scott's (1994, p.57) model views institutions as comprising three elements:

1. Meaning systems and related behaviour patterns, which contain
2. symbolic elements, including representational, constitutive and normative components, that are
3. enforced by regulatory processes.

Shared meanings through the "normalising" of organisational experiences and expectations are indispensable to collective activity.

"The stability, or organisation, of any group activity depends upon the existence of common modes of interpretation and shared understanding of experience. These shared understandings allow day to day activities to become routinized and taken for granted", (Smircich, 1983, p.55)

Scott (1994, p.60) also observes that "Although the focus of institutional theory is on symbols and rules, [.....] it is essential that we do not lose sight of the human agents that are creating and applying these symbols, interpreting these meanings, and formulating, conforming to, disobeying and modifying these rules". The theoretical reciprocity of institution acting on individual actors through rules and meaning systems, and the actor influencing those meaning systems and rules, is represented by the curving arrows to the right and left of figure 2.3 (p. 39) respectively. However, the Education Reform Act's (1988) and, particularly, the National Curriculum's, imposition on schools and individual teachers constitutes a much less reciprocal relationship than figure 2.3 (p.39) indicates.

Thus, individual actors might continue to try to influence the meaning systems giving rise to the Education Reforms Act's constitutive and normative rules and its regulatory processes but the power relations implicit in this are clearly very unequal. Ultimately, the continuous processes represented in Scott's model (figure 2.3, p. 39) are all perceived as contributing to the two central themes of institutional theory, organisations acquiring and retaining legitimisation of their activities and gaining resources from the environments in which they are located.

“Organisations such as schools may adopt certain formal structures for symbolic purposes regardless of the problems they need to address [.....] in the interests of increasing their legitimacy with environments on which they depend for survival” (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.340). To that end, an organisation's “structures”, such as job descriptions, timetables and policies, may be intended to convey socially shared meanings in addition to their stated objective functions, all of which is communicated and reinforced internally and externally, through different layers of influence, as represented in figure 2.3 (p. 39). Indeed, Meyer and Rowan (1977, p.352) argue that formal organisational structures, which may or may not actually function, can be more important for an organisation's survival than outcomes related to formal task performances. This “de-coupling” of organisational structure from action implies “a Goffmanesque ‘backstage/ frontstage’” (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.179) definition of institutional structures as more concerned with organisational impression management than formally stated purposes.

Tolbert and Zucker (1996, p.180) conclude that “a structure can maintain its symbolic value in the face of widespread knowledge that its effect on individuals' behaviour is negligible”. However, in terms of securing legitimisation for its activities and gaining resources from its environment, symbolic organisational structures may be less costly in

financial and personnel management terms than creating or changing existing structures to address issues for which those resources were actually made available. It was mainly for reasons such as these that the Home Office was obliged to demand greater accountability for Section 11 funding.

Scott (1994, p.75) recognises the possibility of multiple, in some cases, competing, institutional frameworks within the same organisation such as Ball (1987, p.221-230) describes in secondary schools in terms of “baronial politics”. Smith and Keith (1971, p.22) refer to “facades” created by schools to give the impression that they are succeeding when it is clear to onlookers that they are not, and Pfeffer and Salancik (1978, p. 197-200) describe organisations with two such facades or “false fronts”, one profit making, the other non-profit making, so that they can comply with social and government definitions of an educational organisation.

But, despite internal conflicts and organisational impression management (Goffman, 1959), Scott (1994, p.75) asks “why, given the great variety in specific settings, participants and tasks, we observe so much uniformity in the structural arrangements adopted by organisations”, and observes that “if governance systems arose out of specific interaction settings and in response to particular problems, one would expect to see both more variety in governance structures and a closer correspondence between rules and activities than is observed”.

Meyer, Boli and Thomas (1994, p.17) raise further questions about ontology and rationalisation processes, commenting on the “extraordinary uniformity” of individual actors’ “fundamental character” in institutionalised organisations, arguing that this uniformity is culturally determined and that it confers social, cultural and professional

legitimation, and collective and individual benefits, on organisational actors demonstrating consistency with it.

All of this may serve to reinforce impressions of passive individual and organisational compliance and conformity with relentless institutionalisation, whatever that may require in terms of organisational and individual behaviour. But such conformity is at odds with the strong ontological status of the individual in much of Weber's work (seen as underpinning much institutional theory) and, as figure 2.3 (p.39) suggests, individual actors can be a key influence on rationalisation and institutionalisation processes in terms of either maintaining the status quo or precipitating change.

Meyer et al's (1994, p. 21) concerns about organisations as the means towards "progress and justice" for collectivities and individuals, "most often defined in terms of equality", therefore, may be seen to depend as much on individual actions as organisational structures and practices. Questions then arise about the extent to which, and ways in which, individuals and organisations can challenge the institutionalisation of antisocial or anti-educational values prevalent in society, such as xenophobia, endemic racism and social inequality. Meyer et al (1994, p.15) argue that such questions will almost certainly under-estimate "the extent to which organisational structures are not only influenced, but also internally constituted, by the wider environment", and they may completely ignore individual actors' instigation and reproduction of both positive and negative social and educational organisational activity. "In other words, the boundary between the environment and the actor is not only highly fluid, but also highly problematic" (Meyer et al, 1994, p.15). This discussion raises a further research question, addressed throughout the research described in this thesis, concerning the nature and strength of institutional norms and values in resisting antiracist multicultural education

developments or, conversely, the strength and independence of individual or group values and strategies in effecting such developments.

2.2.3. Management of Change in Education and School Improvement.

Herman Ouseley (1992, p.127) suggests that inadequate management skills are, at least, as important as racism in preventing institutional change concerned with 'race' related issues. One of the few assumptions made at the outset of the research described here (p.81) was that, if antiracist multicultural education was to be implemented in any of the schools studied, the process of change and development would need to be consciously and well managed. At its most simplistic, any planned innovation or change process might be expected to comprise an "audit" (Hargreaves et al, 1989) of existing circumstances and activities; consultation between change agents, intended users and others affected by proposed changes; a clear statement of the developments' meanings and purposes, or aims and objectives; construction of an action plan to guide the change or development process, its monitored implementation, and evaluation of its effectiveness according to clearly identified criteria. The evidence that things rarely work out in this way, as Fullan (1982) confirms by reference to Goodlad et al (1970), Gross et al (1971) and Sarason (1971), does not invalidate the role of planning in the management of educational change.

Management of educational change and curriculum development orthodoxy of the late 1980's, informed my anticipation that factors affecting implementation identified by Fullan (1982, p.56), and the sub-variables unpacked from each of them, would figure significantly in my subsequent attempts to explain antiracist multicultural education developments. Broadly, these were

(i) characteristics of the change itself,

(ii) sociological and management of educational change characteristics external to the local system,

(iii) those same characteristics at the school district (LEA) level and at

(iv) school level.

To some extent, these accorded with levels in Lawton's conceptual framework (1983) for analysing curriculum control, as adapted and extended in figure 2.4 below to provide an overview of different aspects of anticipated antiracist multicultural education developments in the schools studied.

ASPECT LEVEL	LEGISLATION	POLICY	PRACTICE	EVALUATION
NATIONAL				
REGIONAL				
INSTITUTIONAL				
DEPARTMENTAL				
INDIVIDUAL				

Figure 2.4: A model showing different levels of influence on different aspects of school developments; adapted from Lawton (1983).

Each of the cells in this model may be recognised, in Giroux's terms (1981), as a "site of struggle" in educational organisations affected by, for example, implementation of the Education Reform Act (1988). The "levels" of both Fullan's (1982, p.56) and Lawton's (1983, p.71) conceptual frameworks resonate with figure 2.2 (p.19), indicating ways in which racism works at structural, institutional and interpersonal levels, and Fullan's headings ("characteristics at the school level", "characteristics at the school district level" and "characteristics external to the local system" informed discussion of external and internal "communities of interest" in antiracist multicultural education in chapters 7 and 8 respectively.

Again drawing on Fullan's (1982, pp. 57-63) work, antiracist multicultural education's characteristics affecting its planned implementation were likely to include:

- (i) its clarity of meaning, probably affected by its complexity;
- (ii) its "competitiveness", which is not the same as its permanent or continuing status or importance given that certain developments may be more urgently needed at one time, or in one part of the organisation, rather than another;
- (iii) its relevance - or perceived relevance - to the school's overall aims and objectives, which may have as much to do with its definition and elaboration in use as with its immediately perceived usefulness, and
- (iv) its contentiousness, which may cause more internal or external organisational friction or destabilisation than any developments to incorporate it seem to be worth.

(Fullan, 1982, pp. 57-63)

Gillborn (1995, p. 99), recognising that "the ability to respond to changing local circumstances and to initiate new programmes and approaches has long been seen as an essential part of any good educational system", observes that "the notion of whole-school change has assumed a central position in much (antiracist multicultural education) policy and academic discourse". He also argues that, whilst there is no doubt that antiracist multicultural education needs to be developed on a whole school basis if it is to have significant impact on "traditional patterns of student experience, success and failure", it can only be management of change goal, not a strategy.

This is partly because, as Scott and Meyer observe (1994, p.15), in their discussion of "institutionalisation" cited earlier, that the "realist view is that organisational structure is tightly linked to internal components and activities". However, they cite "massive empirical evidence that this is not the case" with "loose coupling at every level between formal and informal structure, among different structural elements, between structure and action, and between policy and actuality". Weick's (1976) discussion of educational organisations as "loosely coupled systems", rarely exhibiting direct causal relations from one event or set of circumstances to another, aptly describes some of the difficulties experienced by the school mainly studied, "Stepford", particularly during the first eighteen months of its existence on separate sites. As Bell (1989, p. 131) observes, the rationality and orderliness of school management implied by Weber's (1947) work on "bureaucracy", suggests

"more control over the environment within which they operate, and decision taking, than is often the case. Schools frequently have to react to decisions taken elsewhere over which they have little or no influence.

Decisions that are made within schools are often constrained by external factors over which they have no control".

Bolam's (1975, p.391) "two-dimensional" conceptual framework (figure 2.5) helps to clarify analysis of planned educational change by showing its different sequential phases as a process over time comprising "antecedent", "interactive" and "consequent" phases affected by four major factors: the change agent, the innovation, the user system and the process of innovation over time.

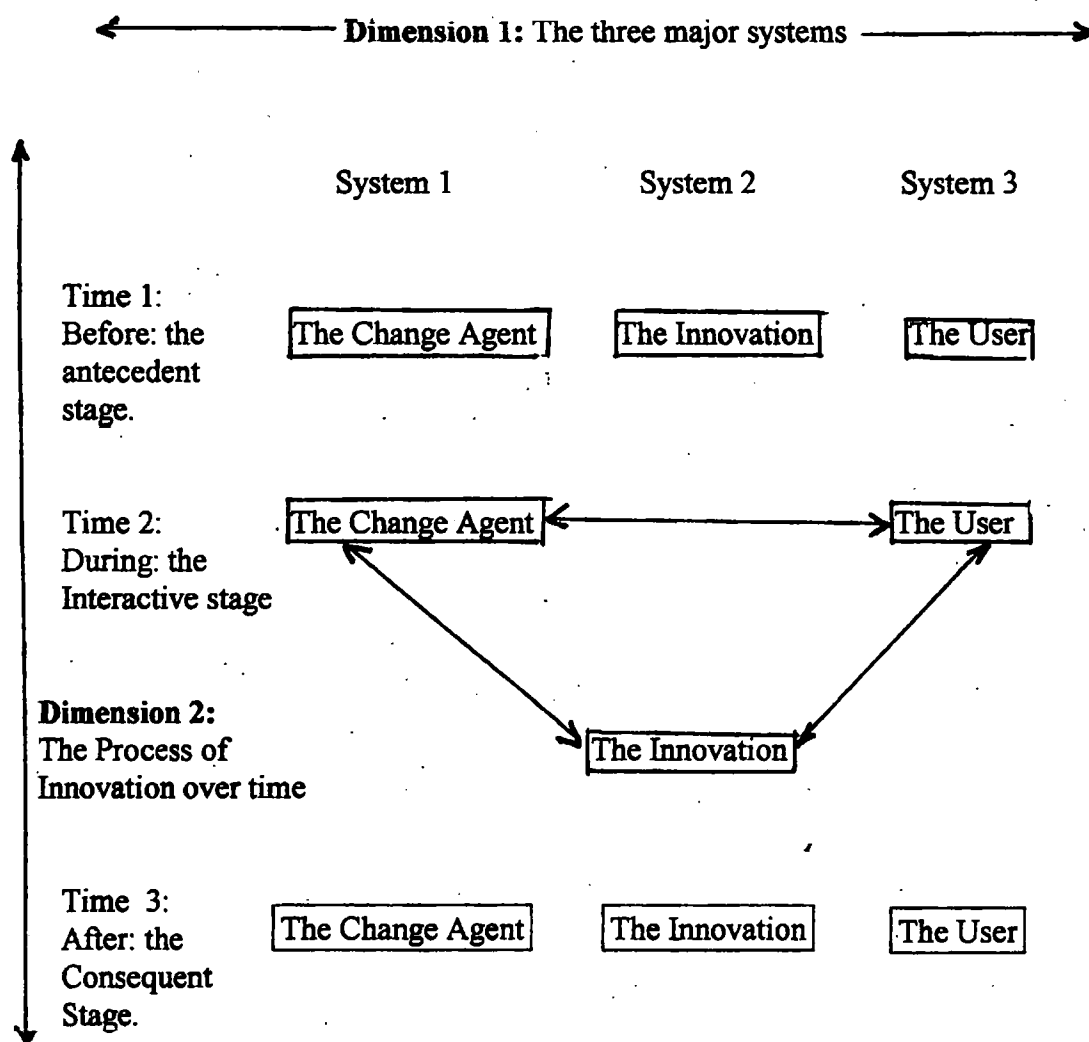


Figure 2.5: Management of Educational Change - A Conceptual Framework.
Adapted from Bolam R. (1975)

Bolam (1975, p.393/9) conceptualises three of the major factors in the innovation process - the change agent, the user and the innovation - as open systems. For example, the "user system" in educational settings may comprise certain individuals who are also part of the change agent system, and others whose choice of whether or not to adopt an innovation is restricted by their organisational status. They may be subject to organisational or administrative imperatives, or they may be obliged to seek the co-operation and collaboration of colleagues with varying degrees of success. Bolam's model does not refer to (but does not exclude) the possibility that community interests might also influence change as change agents or user system members. However, his commentary on the model takes particular account of the way in which any individuals and groups within these systems construct their own phenomenological worlds and thus affect all aspects of the organisation, including its innovation activities.

Bolam's model, therefore, provided an aide memoire at each stage of the research for checking who, precisely, was (were) the change agent(s) and whether or not changes of role occurred; whether or not the innovation or development was being consistently interpreted, and who were the users (whole school, departmental and individual).

2.2.4 Organisational Change, Cultural Hegemony and the Exercise of Power.

Central to management discussion in the preceding sections is the notion of "authority" and Bolam and Pratt (1976, p.15) make a useful distinction between authority as "controlling", in terms of having power over, and strategies for "affecting" the behaviour of others. "In order for a form of authority to be said to exist it is necessary that those over whom it is exercised should in some way assent to it. Power, on the other hand, may be exercised in the teeth of the objections of those to whom it is applied."

Research reported in this thesis is pitched mainly at organisational level, including references to departmental and individual perspectives but as discussed earlier (pp. 38/39), references to a wider range of social and cultural influences cannot be ignored. Account also needs to be taken of an organisation's own "sub-cultures", as identified in educational settings by Hargreaves (1967), Lacey (1970), and Ball (1984) but Burtonwood (1986, p.126) observes that any sub-cultural groups' influence on a school's dominant cultural norms is likely to be minimal, equilibrium being maintained by suppressing, rather than expressing, potential areas of disagreement or conflict.

Brittan (1973a, p.101), for example, received a mixed response to a research item concerned with the extent to which "schools should adapt their ways to accommodate the different cultural traditions of minority group pupils". With less than half her respondents agreeing with this statement, it was evident that they were more willing to adapt syllabuses to include lessons on ethnic minorities' countries of origin and cultures than to alter fundamental organisational beliefs and practices indicative of their school's culture that might risk "indigenous children" being detrimentally affected". For example, the use of English as the language of all communication, including instruction, and in relating with students' homes and communities, were regarded as non-negotiable.

It seems certain, however, that the established distinctive cultures and sub-cultures of most schools have been penetrated by, may even be largely determined by, external influences over which they have little control. Martin and Frost (1996, p.605) observe that the "assumption that organisational culture can be a unitary monolith composed of clear values and interpretations perceived, enacted and shared by all employees, in an organisation wide consensus" is open to well-substantiated challenge. Cultural change in organisations such as schools, therefore, is likely to be localised in one or more of their

sub-cultures (for example, certain faculties), to be incremental, and to be triggered from the organisations' environments (Meyerson and Martin, 1987). Furthermore, if schools or sub-cultural groups within them wished to accommodate a diversity of cultural needs and interests expressed by their teachers and learners, they would have to contend with powerful influences internal and external to the school expressive of dominant, prevailing, national and local cultural interests and ideologies mainly concerned to resist such diversity (Alvesson, 1993).

Eagleton (1991, pp.1/2) characterises ideology by, among other things, processes whereby meanings, signs and values in social life are produced "which help to legitimate a dominant political power"; "the medium in which conscious social actors make sense of their world", and processes whereby social life is converted to a natural reality". (see figure 2.3, p.39 from Scott, 1994, p.57) Burtonwood (1986, p.2) observes that "The hegemonic dimension to culture [...] relates to the way in which a set of behaviours is imposed on the majority by a dominant minority class" and Apple (1979, p.3), citing Gramsci (1971) and Raymond Williams (1976), describes hegemony as something "which is lived at such a depth, which saturates the society to such an extent, (that it) even constitutes the limit of common-sense for most people under its sway".

In these terms, it may be recognised that one of the goals of the Conservative government's educational reforms of the 80's and early 90's, particularly through the "cultural capital" (Apple, 1979, Burtonwood, 1986, pp.30/31) embodied in the National Curriculum and its implementation strategy, neglecting or suppressing any cultural characteristics inconsistent with its intentions, was the inculcation of a distinctively conservative and nationalist perception of "Britishness". (Ball & Troyna, 1989/ Hardy and Vieler-Porter, 1992).

Consequently, changes to a school's prevailing national, religious or linguistic characteristics are likely to be minimal from within (see Meyerson and Martin, 1987, above p. 41), their persistence being maintained by suppressing any potential inconsistencies. The National Curriculum's "failure to make space for local initiatives in the area of multicultural/anti-racist education was challenged" (Chitty, 1992, p.50) by teaching unions such as the National Union of Teachers and curriculum associations such as the National Association for the Teaching of English, but, in retrospect, those challenges seem to have been weak, late and largely ineffectual. Although National Curriculum documents make token gestures in the direction of a "multicultural society", notably in the "Citizenship" cross-curricular guidelines (National Curriculum Council, 1989), they contain no positive, explicit support for multicultural education or opposition to racism.

Consequently, the "sedimentation" (Meyer et al, 1994, p.21) of a powerful hegemonic structuring of cultural influences bearing on education, schools, teachers and learners may be recognised. There might be, as Becher describes it (1989, p.50), an "implementation gap" between government intentions and their enactment, or as Dreyfus and Rabinow (1982, p.68) observe, "a directionality produced from petty calculations, clashes of wills, meshing of minor interests" at the level of day to day organisational practice, but all of this is shaped and given direction by what Foucault (1979, p.219) called "the political technologies of power".

For example in "an educational institution; the disposal of its space, the meticulous regulation that governs its internal life, the different activities that are organised there, the diverse persons who live there or meet one another there, each with his own function, his well-defined character" are governed and sustained by these culturally and politically

determined technologies of power. Furthermore, "the activity which ensures apprenticeship and the acquisition of aptitudes or types of behaviour is developed there by means of a whole ensemble of regulated communications (lessons, questions and answers, orders, exhortations, coded signals of obedience, differentiation marks of the "value" of each person and of the levels of knowledge) and by the means of a whole series of power processes" (Foucault, 1979, p.219)

In this passage can be recognised all that might be "imposed or infused" by "meaning and behaviour patterns", "constitutive and normative rules" and "regulatory processes" (Scott, 1994, p. 57: see figure 2.3, p.39). This passage is also quoted extensively to emphasise its similarity to Lieberman and Miller's (1992, pp. 7/8 & 24/25) observations discussed later (p.70) about the conditioning of individual teachers towards conformity with their educational institution's dominant cultural mores. Foucault (1979, p.219) also observes that those persons least likely to be able to conform to those conditions as learners (such as the poor, disabled and migrants), and their teachers, all of whom represent challenges to education's "normalising" power, must either be ignored or excluded. In this way, Foucault claims, education, particularly in state schools has not lived up to its promise of educating everyone.

2.2.5 Leadership and antiracist multicultural education developments

The concept of leadership in educational management is complex, dynamic and frequently confused with either management or administration, or both. Although others may also take leadership, management and administration roles in schools - the "district" (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p.48), Governors (Deem et al, 1992), and teachers, parents (Gillborn, 1995) - headteachers are most frequently identified with those roles.

Huberman and Miles (1984, p. 48) reported that more than twice as many teachers they interviewed cited "administrative pressure", or central or local government influence, as their motives for adopting innovations, than those citing the next most influential variable, "improvement in classroom practice".

Deem et al (1992, p. 217) identify school governors as ambiguously internal and external leaders but Kogan et al (1984, p.40) argue that governors meet so rarely and briefly that they develop little corporate identity or influence. Deem et al's (1992, p.217) study showed that, in particular, "Black and Asian governors were conspicuous by their absence in both primary and secondary schools, even those where a high percentage of pupils are from those ethnic groups" and only one held the office of chair in the schools studied. Consequently, they identify three issues of concern

*"representation of governors from all the major social groups;
representation of governors in terms of the social composition of their
particular student and parent body; and finally the extent to which governors
from particular social groups raise and are concerned about a range of social
justice and equality issues".*

McCarthy and Webb (1990, p.10) also argue that "while few would contest that we want the most intelligent and most creative and best qualified individuals in our schools, the talents of women and member of minority groups have been under-utilised in leadership roles".

Gillborn's (1995, pp. 123/125) research revealed Black and White parents interested in, and supportive of, antiracist policy developments in schools seen as part of wider social justice strategies that would also benefit their own children.

Gillborn (1995, p.95) also describes students' direct involvement in their schools' antiracist policy development processes, observing that "students are a powerful group within schools - not powerful in the familiar sense of a group with recognised authority, but powerful in their ability (under certain circumstances) to challenge taken-for-granted assumptions and make heard alternative voices". He also draws attention (Gillborn, 1995, p.182) to the role of White students in ensuring the success of antiracist policy development and recommends the adoption of "non-essentialist and non-reductionist perspectives" in dealing with 'race' issues in schools as a "solid and pragmatic strategy, making space for white participation in antiracism on an equal footing with their peers".

In particular, Gillborn (1995, p.95) discusses the effectiveness of "core groups" of change agent teachers in introducing antiracist teaching into three comprehensive schools studied although, in each instance, their head-teacher's and senior management personnel's unequivocal support was crucial. Indeed, it is likely that headteachers will exercise more immediate influence on almost every aspect of teachers' lives, including making working in it satisfying or unbearable, and in terms of decisions about developments that are, or are not, acceptable. "Teachers who themselves aspire to positions of responsibility and leadership depend upon their head-teacher, at least in part, to promote and sustain their interests". (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, p.12)

Lieberman and Miller (1992, pp. 78/79) suggest that principals (headteachers) have at least three clear options in terms of the kind of leader or manager they want to be or to become.

(i) They may accept the world as it is and, in so doing, “disparage the world of ought” or what should be. In this instance they become good managers but not necessarily good leaders, maintain the status quo and resist change;

(ii) They may “live tentatively in the world of *is* with one eye cocked to the world of *ought*”. [.....] They may not initiate improvement activities but they can be won over”, or

(iii) “They can take the leap. They can take on the behaviours that effective leadership requires”. This entails being “more democratic and open, more involved in individual growth issues, more long range, more collegial, more innovative and more involved in the world of ideas. Principals who take this third option are capable of both initiating improvements and supporting the efforts of others”.

Heads surveyed for NFER research (Baker et al, 1995, p.22) into new headships commented on the need for headteachers to have “values and principles” and “a clear idea of where they, as heads, were seeking to take the school”. The historical role of the headteacher is a moral one deriving from Christianity and church schools and from concepts of the “good life” they confer (Grace, 1995, p.142), and this has set cultural precedents that persist to the present day. Lieberman and Miller (1992, p.76) argue that

"Principals are the chief moral authority in a school. It is their notion of justice that prevails. Principals can maintain neutrality and let things progress as they always have; even that is a moral statement".

Fullan (1993, pp.4/5) also identifies the importance of "moral" leadership recognising that if educators, administrators and teachers alike, "become skilled change agents with moral purpose, (they) will make a difference in the lives of students from all backgrounds, and by so doing help produce greater capacity in society to cope with change".

Beare et al (1992) credit Burns (1978, p.28) with first making the distinction between "transactional" and "transformational" leadership. Leadership is perceived to be transactional in most organisational instances, involving "the simple exchange of one thing for another" and is also associated with management by rewards and sanctions (Scott, 1994, p.57: see figure 2.3 above, p. 39) to gain compliance with a leader's wishes. In Burns' view (1978, p.20), such leadership is not necessarily ineffective but it is limited to the conditions of the "contract" between leaders and their followers because they are not "bound together in continuing pursuit of a higher purpose" or moral cause as implied by transformational leadership.

Transformational leadership, as adopted by "the new leadership" (Bass, 1985/ Bryman, 1996), has also been described as "charismatic" (House, 1977/ Conger, 1989) and "visionary" (Sashkin, 1988/ Westely & Mintzberg, 1989). Beare et al (1992, p.280) identify headteachers' communication of their vision for their schools' futures, which requires communication of its meaning (Scott, 1994, p. 57: thesis figure 2.3, p.39), as central to the transforming headteacher's leadership. "Thus the New Leadership approach is underpinned by a depiction of leaders as managers of meaning rather than in terms of an

influence process" (Beare et al, 1992, p.280). Beare et al also offer examples of transforming leadership activities including "changing community attitudes towards the school" by involving "parents, teachers, students and the community at large" in school policy development.

Berman and McLaughlin (1978, p.61) observe that "the principal is the critical person in school improvement, that building level leadership is the single most important variable in changing an emphasis, setting a tone, implementing a program, opening or closing a possibility". However, the "configurations" of the headteacher's relatively autonomous leadership role were dramatically changed by education legislation of the 1980's (Grace, 1995, p.16), the Education Reform Act relieving headteacher's and governors of their discretionary powers for determining curriculum content - including its cultural orientations - so that they became "managers of cultural transmission" rather than "facilitators of cultural development". (Grace, 1995, pp.109/110)

Davies and Morgan (1983 pp. 150/151), in their description of the different stages of development through which organisations in the process of change may move, recognise that all leaders must have

"a very precise understanding of how their institutions behave or are likely to behave. If they assume collegiality where none exists and push decisions accordingly they will very likely be disappointed".

In other words, transformational leaders, as much as any other leader or manager, need to be aware of "situational variables" (Davies and Morgan, 1983, p. 151) that might jeopardise realisation of their vision.

For example, especially challenging leadership demands in these respects might have been anticipated in Stepford's particular organisational circumstances as "a new school" (its conception was not formally described as a merger) serving Eastwick's and Stepford's former catchment areas, each comprising several significantly different communities in terms of class, political orientations and cultural diversity, among other variables.

Teachers responding to the NFER survey (Weindling and Earley, 1986, p.334) expected new heads to make changes and "the vast majority of teachers felt that most of the changes were needed". Only 10% of new heads said that no major change had been initiated in their school during the first year of their headship, most of them arising from organisational restructuring or from staffing cuts because of falling student rolls. and the need to address organisational communication needs. (Weindling and Earley, 1987, p.93) More complex, whole school change was left until later with the exception of "public relations and marketing" which had become so important in the competitive climate introduced by the Education Reform Act that most headteachers took immediate, personal charge of that aspect of their new school's management.

"There was a statistically significant relationship between the school's catchment area and whether creating a better school was a problem. Heads of schools in predominantly urban areas were more likely to perceive creating a better public image of the school to be a serious problem".

(Weindling and Earley, 1987, p.162)

Most new heads were the main instigators of change and most managed the changes themselves although they frequently needed a central or local government "advocate"

(Weindling and Earley, 1987, p.93). Heads who had already been a headteacher elsewhere, however, tended to initiate change and delegate responsibility to their deputies. Baker et al (1995, pp. 32/33) identified most new heads' preference for a team approach to management but several discovered they had inherited weak deputies and curriculum co-ordinators who were "good at their separate jobs", but had "not a lot of team spirit", and preferred heads to make "the important decisions" themselves, including those concerning the school's public image.

New heads also discovered that developments, such as antiracist multicultural education, that had been moral and educational imperatives in the LEA or school from which they had come were sometimes perceived differently in their new school or LEA. Baker et al (1995, p. 22) recommend, therefore, that new headteachers should "heed the warning not to keep referring to the experience in their last school". If they were to successfully, transformationally, lead such developments themselves, they needed to be aware of the local situational variables (Davies and Morgan, 1983, p.150) discussed earlier (p. 56) and seek those developments' legitimation in the wider community. Weindling and Earley (1987, p.161) observed that

"The (NFER study) heads who stressed the importance of school-community links had willingly taken up invitations to join local groups, attended community meetings and served on local committees. The school was seen as belonging to the community and the need for it to become a focal point was all the greater. [...] Gujarati classes were held at one school".

On the other hand, as school managers, they might “disparage the world of ought” (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, p78), look inwards into their school as a relatively closed institution and maintain its status quo.

Although headteachers, particularly new headteachers, in the NFER study (Weindling and Earley (1986) were the most conspicuous leaders and main instigators of change in schools, the “others” (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, p.79) that headteachers were most likely to involve in developments in secondary schools were their “middle management” personnel defined here as Heads of Faculties, Cross-curriculum Co-ordinators and Heads of Year. The concept of middle management “assumes a downward flow of authority from the leader of the organisation, given to promote what the leader seeks. To conceive of staff as operating in ‘middle management’ roles is to locate them in an essentially hierarchical view of the organisation”. (Bennett, 1995, p.18) Bennett also recognises middle management’s important role in “spreading the vision and delivering it in practice in the wide range of classroom and other activities which make up the daily work of schools”. As Earley and Fletcher-Campbell (1989) observe, this role is much more effectively carried out if middle managers are able to adopt a whole school perspective on their work, not limiting their focus to single curriculum subject areas or cross-curricular issues.

Certain individual’s, such as middle management personnel’s, actual or potential leadership roles in relation to change and development positions them as part of both Bolam’s (1975: see figure 2.5 above, p.48) change agent and user systems. It is important, therefore, to distinguish as precisely as possible between these roles when describing individual influences on processes of change but, generally, headteachers and their senior management teams are the first reference points (Hopkins, 1986, p.82) in seeking the main

leaders or change agents in relation to anticipated antiracist multicultural developments in the schools studied here.

2.2.6 Individual Responses to Change

At the same time that change agents are attempting to effect change, other actors may be trying to resist or evade it, notably individuals and groups identified as part of Bolam's (1975) user system. This is not to discount the possibility that nominal change agents might themselves be trying to avoid association with, or the consequences of, changes for which they are responsible (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p.48). Great effort - including pretence of change - might also be expended by actors at all levels of influence resistant to change to preserve the social, cultural and educational status quo, a process Schon (1971) describes as "dynamic conservatism", and Bush (1989) and Senge (1990), among others, call "homeostasis". These are not necessarily negative responses given a fundamental requirement, noted in discussion of institutional theory (pp.37-43 above) to maintain social and organisational stability and ensure group and individual survival in frequently challenging and competitive environments.

In this thesis, teachers with different institutional roles and levels of responsibility are perceived to be the main anticipated "users" of any change implemented. Woods (1983) reviews two neglected factors impinging on teachers', influences "external" to them, in terms of social, cultural and organisational rules and values perceived as constraints, and "internal" influences, such as personal interests and values, perceived as opportunities. Discussion in this section of teacher characteristics likely to affect their responses to antiracist multicultural education developments is based on these two - sometimes interacting, often conflicting - categories of influences.

Tolbert and Zucker (1996, p.176) observe that analysis of individual behaviour according to institutional theory perspectives also requires attention to two distinct models of social action:

(i) "the rational actor model" premised on the assumption that "individuals are constantly engaged in calculating the cost-benefits of different action choices" involving behaviour that reflects "utility maximising calculations" which, in turn, shapes organisational structures and taken for granted procedures, and

(ii) "the institutional model", in which "over-socialised" individuals are assumed to accept and follow social norms unquestioningly without any real reflection or behavioural resistance based on their own particular personal interests".

In any organisational setting, both models are likely to be recognisable as "two ends of a continuum of decision making processes and behaviours". These concepts owe much to Berger and Luckman's (1967) theoretical concept of "exteriority" in institutional theory, particularly in relation to the greater or lesser reality assumed by habitualised social or organisational behaviours depending upon individuals' rationalisation of them as received wisdom.

2.2.6 (i) Factors "external" to individual actors.

Factors external to individuals as "constraints" on their actions, in relation to antiracist education, or any other, developments may be recognised at institutional, local authority or government level and may

"affect the teacher's commitment to the job and how and where they perceive the realisation of their interests, and indeed the personal qualities they choose to exhibit. Doubtless, too, 'personal qualities' will play a part in the perception of constraints and how they are tackled". (Woods, 1983, p.11)

Kirp (1979, p.24) also describes a specifically British form of "inexplicitness" about 'race' at all central government, local authority and institutional levels directly and indirectly affecting individual teachers' responses to it.

"In part this was a political response; 'race' was a kind of social dynamite, explosive if not handled gingerly. Inexplicitness was also an ideologically driven response".

In addition, teachers are constrained from addressing such "progressive" issues by the demands of external examination requirements, teaching large cohorts of children and serious under-resourcing in several aspects of their work (Hargreaves, 1988). The extent to which teachers experience opportunities or constraints is also likely to depend on whether or not their school is a learning organisation (see pp. 33-37 above) and, as such, "moving" (Rozenholz, 1991/Hopkins et al, 1994, pp. 89/90) or "stuck". This, in turn, will depend on the quality of school leadership and, as Lieberman and Miller (1992, pp. 27-29) argue, the principal (headteacher) is likely to be the most important provider of opportunities and constraints in any teacher's professional experience, including those concerned with antiracist multicultural education (see p. 55 above).

Fullan (1982, p.56) refers to "teacher-teacher relations" and to "teacher characteristics and orientation" as factors affecting the implementation stage of organisational innovation

or change, and Lieberman and Miller (1992, p.7) also argue that, from the very outset of their careers, teachers' professional "identity formation" and institutional "socialisation" (Scott, 1994, p.57: see figure 2.3 above, p.39) requires their acceptance that "practical knowledge" is preferable to "theory": "being practical is the opposite of being theoretical; being practical is the opposite of being idealistic". Advice is usually offered by experienced colleagues who claim that it "addresses practical problems such as discipline, attendance, order and achievement. To be practical, in this sense, is to accept the school as it is and to adapt". (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, p.8) This kind of practicality develops from the circumstances of particular schools and can be applied from one circumstance to another within each school without significant modification, adaptation or effort, in the manner of Scott's (1994, p.21) "objectification", or "transplanting", in institutional theory.

Questions might also be asked about the extent to which teachers (and other school staff) are recruited and selected to address new challenges facing a school, or whether they are appointed to reinforce the status quo through "infusion" of established norms and values. The "professional culture of teachers" that these norms and values represent for Troyna (1993, pp.89/91) tends to be resistant to, or a constraint on, whole-school, cross-curricular developments, particularly in predominantly subject orientated secondary schools

Furthermore, as Sharp and Green's (1975, p.177) research in primary schools indicated, teachers are largely preoccupied with "normal" pupils "who can be accounted for within the framework of the teacher's commonsense perceptual structures and rationales". Mac an Ghaill's (1988) and Gillborn's (1995) studies examine teachers' attitudes towards 'race', racism and anti-racism in considerable detail and Mac an Ghaill notes (1988, p.38) that, although there are important differences between teacher ideologies, all these ideologies

seem to work from within "a common educational paradigm in which, of primary significance, is the teacher's shared perception of the black community itself as constituting the 'problem' in the schooling of black students". In a note that refers to Mac an Ghaill's work, Gillborn (1995, p. 199) observes that although, as a whole, the teaching profession has "a fairly good track record in the stand against racism, no-one should forget that some openly racist teachers still work in our schools". Additionally, Gillborn notes, there is the problem of unintended racism through assumptions and actions - often well-meaning - that disadvantage minority students.

The "lack of confidence" felt by most teachers when outside the "sphere of control" they define for themselves in the privacy of their own classrooms (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, pp.12/13), is likely to reduce them to feelings of powerlessness when, for example, visiting their students' communities or homes, particularly those of ethnic minority students, as part of their normal duties. This is particularly problematic for secondary school teachers whose roles in relation to their students are not perceived to be as "integrative" (Smithmier, 1997, p.24) as those of primary school teachers, more obvious "loose-coupling" being observed between secondary school teachers' functions and those of different secondary school specialist service providers, such as welfare personnel.

External factors such as these have implications for any developments likely to affect teachers' professional identities and responsibilities, not only those concerning antiracist multicultural education. All are perceived to be likely to constrain their ability or desire to identify with or be involved in antiracist multicultural education developments. Consequently, their behaviour is likely to be consistent with Tolbert and Zucker's (1996, p.176) "institutional" actor model in complying with established norms and values.

2.2.6 (ii) Factors internal to individual actors

Woods (1983) perceives individual teachers' values, motivations and interests as factors internal to teachers and regards them mainly as developmental opportunities. Young (1981, pp.37/38), however, argues that the concept of "values" being operative in policy development and implementation processes is not in dispute but it is problematic, and that, "any acceptable term for the subjective attributes which actors bring to the policy implementation process must necessarily cover a wider range of meaning than the familiar 'values', 'perception' or 'belief' (Young, 1981, p.42).

2.2.6 (ii)

(a) Discretion as a problem for implementation

Therefore, Young (1981, p.45) proposed "a framework for conceptualising a person's total subjective experience as his 'assumptive world'", as an aid to understanding "discretion as an implementation problem". (see figure 2.6 p.68). Each individual's assumptive world is further perceived (Young, 1977, p.3) as comprising cognitive, affective, cathectic and directive "elements", respectively informing their knowledge about, valuation of, ability to relate to and intention to act upon any given situation.

Whilst reasserting (Young, 1983, p.6), that individuals' responses to change or development will depend on its consistency or inconsistency with their particular "appreciative contexts", "assumptive worlds" or values positions, Young argues that individuals' decisions will also be influenced by the degree of autonomy or control they experience or can acquire in specific organisational contexts or circumstances. He also suggests "four plausible scenarios" (figure 2.6, overleaf) in which individuals exercise

discretion to vary or evade, or to assimilate or implement developments. These terms, like those in figure 2.2 (page 19) concerned with different levels and modes of racism are problematic, often implying more informed and deliberate action by individuals than their knowledge or understanding about issues and situations suggests is possible. According to Young's model, for example, the consequences of all actions are calculated as a basis for directive action - which may entail deliberate non-action in circumstances in which options only include action likely to be detrimental to individual or organisational interests.

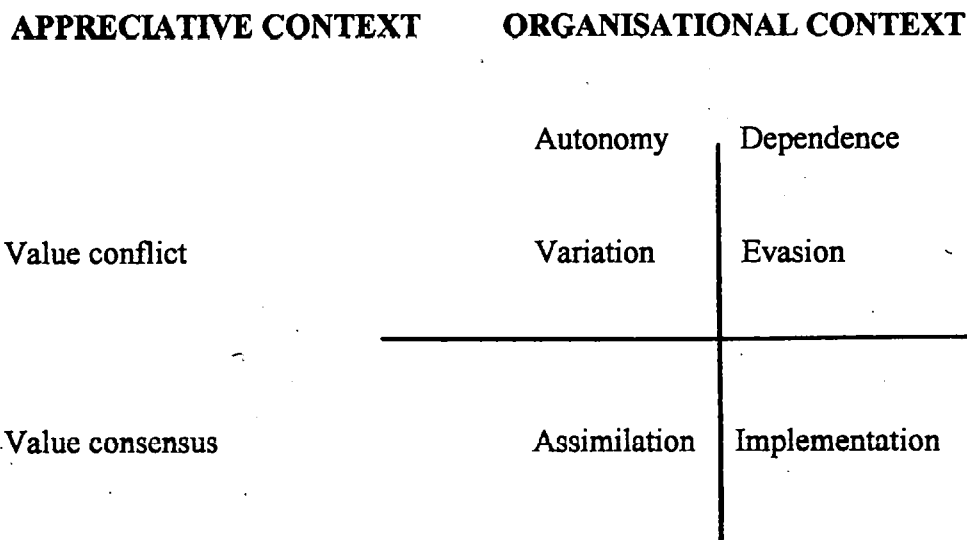


Figure 2.6: A model describing "discretion as a problem for implementation": adapted from Young (1981/ 1983).

This view of discretion “accords a central place to the analysis of the peripheral actor’s situation and meaning structures” but Young (1981, p.44/45) suggests that it provides no more than a “starting point” to discussion about discretion in policy making and its implementation by calling attention to two main issues, “the extent of an actor’s power and his propensity for making choices”. It can be argued that constraints on any individual

actor's autonomy or independent power, such as those reviewed in the preceding section, can only influence or affect, but cannot absolutely determine, that individual's responses in different situations.

Young's (1983 p.45) theoretical argument may be summarised as follows. The outcomes of policy development processes are influenced by individual actors' autonomy or dependence on external resources, and the extent to which their assumptive worlds enable them to identify with particular policies. If they are dependent on external resources, and policies are consistent with their values, policy implementation may occur but if there is no consensus, evasion is probable. Where individuals are less dependent on external resources, the outcome of policy processes will be more varied, again depending on policies' consistency with individual actors' assumptive worlds. In both its "variation" and "assimilation" modes, Young's model (figure 2.6, p. 68) indicates that policies may not be implemented as policy makers intended. All of this supports a view of the individual as "rational actor" (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.176), theoretically able to make choices and exercise discretion in a more or less self-interested manner.

Young leaves his reader to exemplify categories of policy issues in each of these possible situations but, again, implementation of the National Curriculum may be recognised as an example of Young's model (figure 2.6, p.68) in action. The National Curriculum, as part of the Education Reform Act (1988) was enshrined in law but LEAs, schools and teachers also needed central government's approval of their implementation processes in order to secure National Curriculum related financial and other resources. Therefore, their degree of autonomy was minimal but, depending on the extent to which the National Curriculum was consistent with their values, teachers might implement it, vary their delivery of it as far as permitted or assimilate it, but the only way that they could

avoid some attempt to implement it was by not teaching in “normal” mainstream classes. By contrast, central and local government direction about aspects of antiracist multicultural education was weak, uncertain and sometimes contradictory, with no obvious rewards or sanctions for its effective or ineffective implementation, and with some probability of conflict with individuals’ assumptive worlds. Consequently, all four of Young’s model’s responses to it were possible, including resistance and evasion. In addition, individual’s stated beliefs may not always be consistent with their observed actions.

2.2.6. (ii)

(b) “Espoused Theory” and “Theory in Use”

Lieberman and Miller (1992, p.2) observe that

"teachers develop all kinds of strategies and then meld them together in a style that is highly personal, if not plain idiosyncratic. This style, forged in the dailiness of work developed from trial and error becomes one's professional identity and, as such, may be militantly protected and defended".

Especially where this identity includes professional or institutional status, career developments or simply job retention, most of which teachers have little direct control over, they cope "typically through devising strategies" (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, p.20).

Bennett (1995, p.46), citing Argyris’ and Schon (1978) describes “two sets of guiding principles influencing individual action” which may be perceived to be related coping strategies, “espoused theory” as public statements about individuals’ acknowledgement of

official policies and shared norms and values, and more private “theory in use” comprising “real guiding principles” informing their observed actions. Argyris and Schon (1978., p.11) refer to their earlier work (1974, p.7) in distinguishing between different kinds of “theory of action”.

“When someone is asked how he would behave under certain circumstances, the answer he usually gives is his espoused theory of action for that situation. This is the theory of action to which he gives allegiance, and which, upon request, he communicates to others. However, the theory that actually governs his actions is his theory in use which may or may not be compatible with his espoused theory; furthermore, the individual may not be aware of the incompatibility of the two theories”.

For example, a teacher might publicly espouse a school’s equal opportunities policies but behave in a manner that shows complete disregard for it and individual organisational members may insist that developments are inevitable in principle, but vary, evade or resist them in practice. Nonetheless, Argyris and Schon (1978, p. 10) argue that these theories of action are “deliberate action” with a “cognitive basis”, not spontaneous, idiosyncratic reactions, that they reflect norms, strategies and assumptions, and are based on “models of the world which have claims to general validity”. Argyris (1992, p.90) states that, “theory-in-use”, put simply, means that “people consistently act inconsistently, unaware of the contradiction between their espoused theory and their theory-in use, between the way they think they are acting and the way they really act”. This is entirely consistent with Young’s (1981/1983) concept of assumptive worlds (figure 2.6 p.68) which accommodates individuals’ public and private, declared and observed, principles and actions, including discrepancies and contradictions between any of these.

Individuals may also engage in elaborate "dramaturgical" activity (Goffman, 1959), including acts of self and other delusion to convey impressions that developments have occurred or will occur, or creating "facades" (Smith and Keith, 1971, p.402) in which they "intentionally or unintentionally collude to present an image to each other and to the outside world which suggests that an innovation is working successfully although 'objective' outsiders report otherwise".

Although discussion of this phenomenon is usually reserved for individual actors (Argyris and Schon, 1978, p.11), it is conceivable that organisations might publicly espouse inconsistent principles at the same time, different principles or policies in relation to different interest groups, and one set of principles for public purposes whilst privately acting in accordance with others. This is likely to occur when organisations, including schools, have not developed as "learning organisations" (Argyris, 1992) and are engaged in "organisational defence routines" to try to evade the implications of environmental changes impacting on them, such as changes in a school's student population. Argyris and Schon (1978, p.9), however, distinguish between organisational and individual learning "even when individuals who learn are members of the organisation. There are even cases in which organisations know less than their members".

Argyris (1992, p.2) defines organisational defensive routines as any "policy, practice or action that prevents (organisational) participants from experiencing embarrassment or threat" caused by "errors", or inconsistencies and discrepancies, between intentions and actions. Examples include "impression management" (Goffman, 1959), symbolic organisational structures and "the Goffmanesque 'backstage/ frontstage'" (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.179) discussed earlier (p.41) in relation to institutional theory".

Essentially, organisational defence routines are “self-reinforcing anti-learning processes” that insulate individuals and organisations from difficult or potentially threatening problems and are, eventually, taken for granted attributes of those organisations. (Argyris, 1992, p.4) Consequently, individuals with different personalities behave in the same way towards problematic issues; and people leave and new ones come into the organisation, yet the defensive routines remain intact". (Argyris, 1992, p.103)

This kind of discussion introduces into Bolam's (1975) conceptual framework (figure 2.5 p. 48) some of the human complexities that its earlier discussion in relation to antiracist multicultural education developments in the abstract seemed to lack. Discussion of “the change agent” system or “the user system”, in which central or local government, community influences, school managers and individual teachers might figure, sometimes in both systems at the same time, comprise the “messy, non-rational processes of educational change” that Huberman and Miles (1984, p.1) describe. However, it helps the management of change analyst to understand why, as Huberman and Miles also state (1984, p. 48), nominal change agents might be ambiguous about - if not actually resistant to - changes and change processes for which they may be responsible. It also helps to explain why user systems and individuals may make apparently contradictory choices in relation to different parts or aspects of an innovation, or at different stages in the development of an initiative. Thus, it would not be surprising to discover that certain individuals are able to respond positively to multicultural, but not to antiracist, education developments, or that others are positive about antiracist multicultural education generally at a policy development, but not at an implementation, stage.

None of this is particularly surprising. Gillborn (1995, p.99) reminds us that

"The fact that fundamental change cannot be simply programmed into schools, as if they were machines, has been established over several decades, and through a variety of attempted innovations in curriculum content, teaching styles and school organisation. [...] Whole school change is, therefore, a goal, not a strategy".

2.2.7 Antiracist Multicultural Education, School Improvement and Evaluation.

Any education manager or change agent seeking professional equilibrium in uncertain political, institutional and professional circumstances such as those described here, might usefully adopt equal opportunities' (inclusive of antiracist multicultural education) "moral purpose" (Fullan, 1993, p.41), as a lynch-pin of school improvement strategies..

Banks (1981 p.32) suggests that

"Multiethnic education can serve as a vehicle for general and significant educational reform.[.....] We can best view multiethnic education as a process as well as a reform movement that will result in a new type of schooling that will present novel views of [...] experience, and help students acquire the knowledge, skills and commitments needed to make our nation and world more responsive to the human condition".

Burtonwood (1986, p.160) attests to multicultural education's benefits, observing that "It is in learning about other cultures that we learn about our own, or as Allport (1958,

p. 486) said, 'No person knows his culture who knows only his culture'".

Smith and Tomlinson (1989, pp. 306-307) conclude that multicultural education should not only be seen as a method of improving the academic performance of "racial minority" groups, but as an aspect of good education for all pupils. They also argue that, although school effectiveness is as important for ethnic minority students as it is for any students, it is a more urgent issue for the former because they frequently start secondary school at substantial disadvantage. Nonetheless, they claim that the measures best serving secondary school minority ethnic group students' interests are the same as those that improve all students' achievements and raise secondary education standards generally.

If more conspicuously antiracist multicultural education approaches were adopted, as a school improvement strategy, how might school managers know that they had been implemented fully and effectively? Given Gillborn's (1995, p.197) remarks about the improbability of OFSTED inspections revealing much about cultural diversity and 'race' equality in schools, as shown by the Runnymede Trust's (1990) analysis of "the First Fifty" OFSTED inspection reports, how might antiracist multicultural education's improving effects be evaluated?

Smith and Tomlinson's (1989, p.3) study of the overall efficiency and effectiveness of "Multi-racial Comprehensives" was intended to "Measure differences between schools in the outcomes they achieve, in academic and other terms, after taking full account of differences in the attainment and background of children at the point of entry". However, as Gillborn and Gipps (1996) demonstrate, attempts to evaluate any school's effectiveness by reference to academic achievements alone are likely to be flawed given the uncertain influence of different kinds of variables in different institutional contexts.

Tomlinson (1990, p.337), reviewing her own study of twenty multiracial secondary schools between 1981 and 1986, suggests that "some schools are more effective in helping their pupils to progress academically than others and the academic level which is expected of a child depends more on school policies than on the qualities of the pupils".

Tomlinson's approach to analysing multiethnic school effectiveness has been criticised by Drew and Gray (1991) and, latterly, Troyna (1993), in terms of general methodological procedures and for taking insufficient account of learners' social backgrounds. However, Smith and Tomlinson (1989, p. 302) insisted that they had been

"successful in measuring the extent of school differences, but much less successful in explaining how and why they arise. The theory that we would have liked to test is that these differences are related to methods and styles of management at the level of the school and subject department. (my emphasis) It was not possible to provide good evidence for or against this theory".

Therefore, relationships between antiracist multicultural education and school effectiveness and improvement remain to be demonstrated empirically.

This is why my own research is not simply about the implementation of antiracist multicultural education, but is also about the organisation and management of broad based and fundamental improvements in the effectiveness of education for all pupils. It can be argued (Lee, 1989, 1992/ Farrell, 1990) that no developments of consequence will be implemented without effective management of educational change strategies, as indicated in the Swann Committee report (1984) extract with which this chapter begins. But, Argyris (1992, p.85) goes further and suggests that all organisations need to learn how to learn - organisational members learning from each other, from their clients and from the

environment in which they operate. This is as necessary for schools as it is for industrial and commercial organisations if they are to be anything more than adaptive to changing circumstances, and begin to generate their own specifically relevant responses to changing circumstances and demands. It is a very difficult challenge to accept; even more difficult to put into operation, particularly in 'professional' organisations in which "Many professionals are almost always successful at what they do, (and) rarely experience failure. And because they have rarely failed, they have never learned how to learn from failure". (Argyris, 1992, p.85)

The literature review in this chapter raises a number of research questions relevant to my research's first two declared aims (pp. 4 & 5) to

- (i) Identify factors positively and negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments, and to
- (ii) improve understanding of the management of antiracist multicultural education development as a school improvement strategy in culturally diverse schools.

These are mainly concerned with

- (i) The nature of the anticipated antiracist multicultural development itself, its different forms and purposes James (1980: see figure 2.1 p.11), their complexity and their contentiousness affecting their implementation (Fullan, 1982, pp. 57 - 63).
- (ii) Management and management of change strategies for ensuring those developments' sustained implementation (Bolam, 1975/ Gillborn, 1995).

approaches to, organisational leadership (Burns, 1978) for effecting those developments.

(iv) The nature and strength of institutional norms and values (Meyer and Rowan, 1977) and their effects on antiracist multicultural education developments, and

(v) The nature and strength of individual values and their expression in action (Argyris and Schon, 1974/1978 / Young 1981/1983) and their effects on those developments.

It would be an "exceptional" school - not a "normal" school (both as discussed in chapter 9) - that could analyse its constantly changing developmental needs in these terms, and respond as honestly, positively and constructively as the learning organisations described by Argyris (1992) and Senge (1990). And it would be an "exceptional" school that could manage the whole-system, or whole-school development (Senge, 1990/ Gillborn, 1995), that antiracist multicultural education implies. This, then, was the challenge that Stepford School, as a new school, knowingly or unknowingly, set itself as described and analysed in the study that follows.

Theoretical positions described here suggest no necessary or fundamental discrepancy between management in education and antiracist multicultural education. In part 2, these theories are drawn upon, not to justify or substantiate findings from comparative analysis of empirical research data, but to assist in the description of emerging concepts and issues. This kind of analysis in the field of 'race', cultural diversity and education has not been attempted previously and it is evident, at least to date and in Britain, that educational management literature is as deficient in its treatment of "race" equality as antiracist

multicultural education literature is deficient in its treatment of educational management.

The research reported here is intended, at least in part, to redress this neglect.

Part 1. Chapter 3. RESEARCH METHODS

In this chapter, I restate the research's foci and purposes, and describe its overall design and methods. Theoretical perspectives and research strategies, particularly definitions and concepts of the case study, and its advantages and disadvantages as a research strategy, and the discovery of "grounded theory" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) are critically reviewed. Research methods such as observation, interview as adapted to serve my changing research needs, and documentary searches, all yielding qualitative data, and the limited but informative use of quantitative data, are examined. Research samples are identified and the problematic nature of my research role is discussed. Data analysis techniques and verification of research findings by different kinds of empirical research evidence "triangulation" are described. Research access and ethical issues are discussed as separate but linked concerns in the final section.

All of this addresses research questions raised in my introduction (p.5) about the most reliable and effective ways in which to research educational management issues in situations in which 'race' and cultural diversity are operative.

3.1. Establishing the Research's Foci and Purposes.

My research was concerned with three different but related topics:

- multicultural and antiracist education (the substantive subject);
- organisational development for school improvement (the substantive process) and
- how the latter in relation to the former may be most effectively researched in multi-ethnic secondary school settings, as discussed in this chapter.

My literature review in chapter 2 also gave rise to a broad range of research questions (p.78) about antiracist multicultural education and its development at Stepford School which were addressed through research planned and implemented as described in the chapter that follows. This chapter will also contribute to fulfilment of my third research aim (p. 6), to identify effective research strategies for studying the management of antiracist multicultural education developments.

3.2 Some Basic Assumptions

My assumptions on commencing this study may be stated very briefly. Theoretically, antiracist multicultural education as defined in my literature review is likely to have more positive than negative educational and social effects. This depends on positive and constructive management of its implementation, a common sense assumption being that management of such cross-curricular developments is more complex, because intentionally affecting everyone in the school, and more contentious, because value laden, than others.

It was also a reasonable assumption that my enquiries would take the form of an extended case study, and that research methods would be largely qualitative. This much was supported by Schofield's (1989) paper concerning theoretical aspects of his studies into school desegregation studies in the United States of America, published one year after my own study began.

I intended to study antiracist multicultural education developments "up close" (Huberman and Miles, 1984) in a secondary school formed by the merger of two others, being more interested to identify factors affecting substantial and widespread changes in users' understanding, attitudes and practices than outcomes ("users" implying both individuals and organisations). There was a possibility that developments might not occur because they were ill-managed, because they were not considered relevant or because their planned implementation had been evaded or resisted. All of this suggested the need for tightly focused, detailed and long term research into what Bolam (1975) describes as "a process over time". (see figure 2.5, p.48)

In seeking an appropriate research strategy, I was constrained by my own personal and professional circumstances. As a full-time, LEA employee, I was unable to spend long or uninterrupted periods of time in any of the three schools referred to here. I also had access to minimal financial resources and could not employ other researchers or data analysts.

The research described here, therefore, was designed as a single but complex and extended case study as discussed in section 3.3, in which a variety of research methods were used at three different but sequential research stages. My three level enquiry (see

Woods, 1990) focused progressively from institutional, through departmental, to individual teacher perspectives (see figure 3.1 p. 95).

My literature search and review in chapter 2 revealed no theoretical or empirical studies similar to the one in which I intended to engage, and no directly relevant guidance about appropriate research designs, strategies and methods. Researchers into 'race' and cultural diversity in education, such as those reviewed in the previous chapter (Mac an Ghaill, 1988/ Gillborn, 1990/ Wright 1986) are mainly concerned with pupil or student and teacher interactions and frequently employ ethnographic research methods to gather their empirical research data. These, and others of more a theoretical persuasion (Sarup, 1986/ Troyna and Williams, 1986/ Troyna, 1987), may be located in Burrell and Morgan's (1979, p.33-35) "radical structuralist" research paradigm, proceeding from broad socialist sociological theories underpinned by strong sentiments of fairness and justice to convey understandings of society's status quo, not to preserve it but to change it.

Whilst respecting the valuable contributions to debate about Britain as a multiethnic society, and about education in that society, made by researchers and polemicists of a radical structuralist persuasion, I would argue that the debate has become increasingly exclusive and censorious in its treatment of individual organisational actors and unorthodox researchers, as epitomised by a continuing exchange of articles on the subject of methodological purity where 'race' is operative (Foster, 1990/ Wright, 1990/ Hammersley, 1990/ Gillborn, 1991).

My own position differs from the radical structuralists' in that I did not assume that racism was the only, or even the main, factor affecting developments in the schools studied, or my experiences as researcher. Nor did I subscribe to Foster's (1990/1991)

position, as defended by Hammersley and Gomm (1993), that attempted methodological purity in inductive research will necessarily reveal racism if it is operative. I assume that 'race' will be operative in many social situations studied (Karn, 1997, p.226), including schools, and maintain an awareness of its likely expression and effect. However, if my research subjects had been aware that such an hypothesis was central to my studies, I doubt that I would have gained or maintained the research access I sustained for three and a half years.

This does not mean that I began or continued my research with only these "orienting ideas, foci and tools". (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 28) It would have been neither possible nor helpful to try to divest myself of the accumulated insights, understanding, commitments and beliefs that I had acquired from a professional lifetime's involvement in antiracist multicultural education, and a shorter - though substantial - period as an educational manager and teacher of educational management studies.

Unlike Bagley (1991), I was not constrained by a sponsor's requirements, only by my own resources of time and expertise. Therefore, I was obliged to take particular account of my own possible influence on antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford, and on the conduct and outcomes of research into them. As Woods (1990, pp.40/41) observes

"The researcher does not stand above and outside the research. The research is contextualised with situations and definitions of situations; research activities are constructed and interpreted in distinctive processes; and the researcher's self is inextricably bound up with the research"

Therefore, it is important that readers of this thesis should understand my own personal, professional and political perspectives on my research's potentially contentious substantive issues as revealed by the following biographical information.

From earliest recollections my political and social perspectives have been shaped by experiences of both gross and subtle inequalities. For example, although many of my relatives have been Oxford college servants, I was the first of my very considerably extended family to attend a university, intentionally to be an English teacher. A Bachelor of Education study visit to Bradford in 1970 brought me into direct contact with Black and Asian children and their parents experiencing greater social and educational inequalities and disadvantages than I had seen in Britain, although none so severe as seen in other parts of the world as a naval rating. Consequently, instead of reading for a Master's degree in English at Nottingham University, I joined Bradford's Immigrant Education Service in 1971 as an Immigrant (Education) Reception Centre class teacher hoping to be able "to make a difference". As Bagley (1991, p.67) has observed about his study, it would be both "presumptuous and pretentious" to suggest that the research described here could do more than contribute insights into processes affecting antiracist multicultural education in one school. However, his study and mine are intended as part of continuing processes of trying to make a difference to understanding and practice in antiracist multicultural education

Subsequent experiences as a Head of ESOL and Immigrant Welfare in one of Bradford's multiethnic, 13-18 comprehensive schools; as a Community Education worker on a disadvantaged, multiethnic, West Midlands council housing estate; as an Education Officer working with Black and Asian residents in the St. Paul's and Montpelier districts of Bristol at the time of the 1981 "insurrection" and, whilst in Bradford, participating as a teacher researcher in the Stenhouse directed "problems and effects of teaching about race

As an LEA Adviser with responsibility for Multicultural Education in a multiethnic East Midlands town, I was particularly concerned to discover ways in which greater racial justice, respect for cultural diversity and improved equality of educational opportunities could be achieved to make a difference to ethnic minority groups' lives and learning.

My B. Ed. extended study and my M. Ed. dissertation were concerned with culture and educational disadvantage and this thesis is part of that continuing study. My other activities have included National Antiracist Movement in Education (NAME) and the Association of Local Authority Officers in Antiracist Multicultural Education (ALAOME) campaigning for an education system in Britain consistent with the Race Relations Act (1976), and fund raising for the Anti Apartheid movement's "Defence and Aid" movement. As an OFSTED inspector, I am available to inspect English, Equal Opportunities and school management.

Most of this identifies me theoretically and practically as an antiracist but this categorisation requires interpretation before I can accept it comfortably. My position is located in a broader equality framework which includes gender, class and other socially and culturally constructed barriers to equality discussed earlier (pp. 25-26). Like Bagley (1991, p. 63), I do not believe that racism can be abstracted from all encompassing political, social and historical processes, as my research design clearly demonstrates, nor can it be reduced to them. "Racism is not an autonomous ideology nor an historical constant, but a materially rooted and changing set of ideas", (Williams, 1989, p.101) Consequently, as Hall (1989) argues, examination of issues of racism should provide important insights into the persistence of injustice and inequality in a wide range of social and political issues.

Practically, the elimination of racial injustice and inequality requires the “transformation” of society (Sarup, 1986) which may be perceived to be possible through education as part of multidimensional strategies and alliances between multiple justice and equality groups in communities served by schools, not least ethnic minority groups themselves but these initiatives, however small, need to be consciously and well managed if they are to be effective. Consequently, my antiracism included a need to identify strategies whereby it could be given organisational expression and my study of antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford needed to include a theoretical perspective enabling schools’ “relatively concrete empirical artefacts to be objectively studied” (Bryman, 1988, p. 38). This has been the most characteristic theme in the development of my own perceptions during the period of this study and, just as racism is not a constant (Williams, 1989, p.101), it would be surprising if my antiracism had remained constant from beginning to end.

As Bagley (1991, p.67) has observed about his study, it would be both “presumptuous and pretentious” to suggest that my research could do more than contribute insights into processes affecting antiracist multicultural education in one school. However, his study and mine are intended to “make a difference” to understanding and practice in developing antiracist multicultural education. This meant that I needed to avoid making judgements about the nature and quality of antiracist multicultural education developments studied, or their management, based on my own preferred models and methods. Hammersley (1986, p. 61) warns researchers against assuming that there is “a single world independent of us about which we have direct (and therefore certain) knowledge”, in other words, subscribing to a “naïve realism”, that affirms their interpretation of events. And as Woods

(1992, p.352) has argued, it is important to identify what teachers' intentions are before interpreting their actions. For these reasons, and as a corollary of my "commitment to naturalism" (Woods, 1986, p.82), I resolved to make as few assumptions as possible, as outlined in this section, in advance of the study.

3.3 The Development of Grounded Theory

Ultimately, what is important is that research methods should be consistent with the purposes of the research itself (Woods, 1979). Or, as Morgan and Smircich (1980, p.491) observe, the appropriateness of a research approach "derives from the nature of the social phenomena to be explored".

Given the lack of relevant theoretical or empirical studies to guide my research, I was drawn to Glaser and Strauss' (1967, pp1/2) theoretical concepts and research processes for the development of "grounded theory": "our basic position is that generating grounded theory is a way of arriving at theory suited to its supposed uses". They also argue (1967, p.23) that

"In discovering theory, one generates conceptual categories or their properties from evidence, then the evidence from which the category emerged is used to illustrate the concept. The evidence may not necessarily be accurate beyond a doubt [.....] but the concept is undoubtedly a relevant theoretical abstraction about what is going on in the area studied".

Glaser and Strauss' (1967, pp. 36/37) own summary of their grounded theory development process emphasises the constant comparing of different groups of data which

inevitably draws attention to similarities and differences within and between them. This leads to the generation of abstract categories and their properties which, since they are drawn directly from the data, will be important to a theory explaining the behaviour under observation. [.....] Generating theory does put a premium on emergent conceptualisations”.

This suggested that adoption of Glaser and Strauss’ (1967, pp. 28-32) theoretical approach would enable me to develop theory precisely relevant to the area studied whilst not precluding verification of existing theory; the “generation of theory through comparative analysis both subsumes and assumes verification”. Two kinds of theory may be generated, “substantive” and “formal”, both described as “middle range” in that they “fall between the minor working hypotheses of everyday life and the all inclusive grand theories”. Substantive theory is routinely derived from the kind of empirical enquiry in which I intended to engage, and Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.32) identify sociological enquiry into race relations as a specific instance of such research. Formal theory, is usually developed from enquiry of a more conceptual nature, including studies of formal organisations. This suggested further reasons, therefore, why Glaser and Strauss’ approaches to the development of grounded theory seemed particularly appropriate for my research purposes.

But their theories are not without their critics. As Moore (1994, p.52) notes “A central criticism of grounded theory [.....] is that it may not be as ‘open minded’ or disinterested as it purports to be”. He argues that theories in various stages of development in researchers’ minds before their enquiries begin may influence the kinds of data gathered and its interpretation, to the exclusion of new, different and, perhaps, more relevant research possibilities. These kinds of criticisms are discussed more fully in section 3.10 concerned with issues of researcher bias, and verification and validation of research data.

How my research was planned and carried out is described in sections 5 and 6 of this chapter concerned with research design and research methods respectively but, essentially, it was intended to contribute to generation of theory from the research data itself (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.6/ Woods, 1977, p.51), rather than using it to test *a priori* hypotheses. These theoretical perspectives have direct bearing on issues of research design, and the selection and application of research methods, and are returned to in discussion under most other headings in this chapter.

3.4 Case Study and its Application

My theoretical and practical commitment to a process of grounded theory development through an investigative case study, based on mainly qualitative empirical research data and in which I was unable to assume a frequently involved role or presence, offered some starting points. However, it was debatable whether the case studied here represented one or more “bounded systems” (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p.28) given reference to Stepford School’s predecessors and to different faculties within it. I perceive all my research interests, in different locations and in relation to different group and individual informants, as converging on the central question of factors affecting Stepford’s whole school responsiveness to changing needs in its immediate environment. Huberman and Miles (1984, p.28) use the word “site” to mean the same thing as a “case” because it reminds them that a case study always occurs in a specified setting. “Both refer to the same phenomenon; a bounded context in which one is studying events processes and outcomes”. As such, the study is bounded by one organisation’s interests during a specified period of time and is a single case in Yin’s (1989, p. 146) terms but, because different levels and “multiple units of analysis” contribute to that case, its design is more precisely described as “single case embedded”.

Fetterman (1991, p. 94) identifies "a department as a community, sub-culture or human organism", with its own rules, behaviour, norms, systems, power structures and status symbols, and its own identifiable character or ethos, as an example of a "case" to be studied in this way. In other words, research at the different organisational levels in which I was interested, particularly in the second phase of my research, could all be seen to subscribe to studying the "case" of Stepford's antiracist multicultural education developments.

Walker (1978, p.190) also observes that case studies enable researchers to analyse and describe "the idiosyncratic and the particular as legitimate in themselves" and Atkinson and Delamont (1986, p.240) emphasise the case study's benefits in being able to "pay full attention to the unofficial and unforeseen aspects of an innovation and its implementation" because it does not need to investigate the 'official reality' of its promoters. These and similar references also confirmed the suitability of case study design for my research given its specifically cultural frame of reference and my intention to take nothing for granted.

Some of the advantages of case study research may be summarised as its "strength in reality" (Adelman et al, 1984, p.93, Cohen & Manion, 1989, p.150) providing a naturalistic basis for generalisation from one case to another, together with its "subtle" realism (Hammersley, 1992, pp. 50-54) which gives attention to the nuances or complexities of each case in its own right. It also emphasises "social reality," being embedded in recognisably authentic, "natural" (Woods, 1990, p.82) settings in which contending interpretations of events are seen to have equal status.

Case studies may also be recognised as a richly detailed archive offering, especially for educational research purposes, reference and comparison data to researchers and

practitioners. For example, in comparing different kinds of case studies for the purposes of my own research, I was fortunate to have access to three (Greer, 1988/ Draper, 1992/ Moore, 1994) dealing with the very different kinds of issues arising from "Teachers' Careers", the creation of a new school through merger and "Bilingual Pupils in Secondary Education" respectively. Each offered, in addition to their particular perspectives on case study research, something about their substantive subjects to inform my own substantive research interests.

Case study's potential for informing action may also be recognised, being derived from authentic social circumstances and having the potential to provide feedback contributing to social or organisational development. (Adelman et al., 1984)

However, case study research design and processes are not without their critics (Adelman et al, 1984/ Hammersley, 1992/ Walker, 1978/ Atkinson & Delamont, 1986), albeit largely constructive. Some disadvantages of case study research may be identified as its basis in subjective observations and interpretations which could lead to impressionistic, idiosyncratic or imprecise descriptions of individual behaviour and organisational circumstances. Researchers' might also identify with research subjects at the cost of critical distancing and objectivity. These criticisms give rise to questions (Schofield, 1989, p.190) about case studies' "external validity" or their generalizability to other groups and situations, and their "internal validity", that is to say the extent to which a researcher's interpretation of events is recognised as authentic and reliable by others, such as members of groups actually studied. This is a matter discussed in more detail in section 3.10 (pp. 132/133) but it may be noted here that I "self-consciously" selected different research samples, situations and modes of evidence that could be analytically compared, contrasted

and cross-referenced, so that my “verification process (was) largely built into the data gathering process”. (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p.234/235)

3.5 Research Design

In order to answer my first research question concerned with identifying organisation and management factors affecting antiracist multicultural education developments, issues not known to have been researched previously, my research approaches needed to be exploratory and descriptive. This confirmed case study design, and research methods consistent with it, as most suitable for researching “the case” of anticipated antiracist multicultural education developments over an extended but defined period of time, mainly in one school.

The ILEA Aide Memoire’s (Woodruffe et al, 1981) (appendix 1) predictive and explanatory limitations, discussed later in this chapter (pp. 112/114), made it inadequate for analysing anything more than existing antiracist multicultural education perceptions and practices at Eastwick and Midwich at the time that my research began. Similarly, the canon of organisation and functional educational management theory (Bush et al, 1989) identified in chapter 2 (p.31) offered no more than theoretical references with which concurrent Eastwick and Midwich practices at that time might be compared and contrasted. Together, however, they offered a starting point,

As Schofield (1989, p. 98) states

“The goal of describing and understanding cultures or institutions as they typically are is an appropriate aim for much current qualitative research on

educational institutions and processes. If policy-makers need to decide how to change a program or whether to continue it, one very obvious and useful kind of information is information on how the program usually functions, what is usually achieved and the like”.

My first research phase (see figure 3.1, p.95), therefore was mainly concerned with studying, as objectively as possible “what is” (Schofield, 1989, p.102) (more precisely, what was and had been) through comparative analysis of Eastwick’s and Midwich’s management and ‘race’ and cultural diversity characteristics. As Huberman and Miles (1984, pp.21/22) argue, “that is not the same as ‘positivism’ or ‘deductiveness’. One can be an inductively oriented phenomenologist and rather structured in one’s approach to empirical work”. But this kind of objectivity would have been inadequate, by itself, for examining what Schofield also refers (1989, p.102) to as “what might be” or “could be” in the new Stepford school. Subsequent research phases proceeded on the same theoretical basis of comparative analysis (Glaser and Strauss, 1967), with application of Huberman and Miles’ (1984) “progressive focusing” strategies and increasing interest in individual’s subjective perceptions as the research proceeded. Thus, the second phase was mainly concerned with developments at faculty level, and the third with individual teachers’ perceptions, all as indicated in figure 3.1 (p.95) representing my research as a process over time (Bolam, 1975).

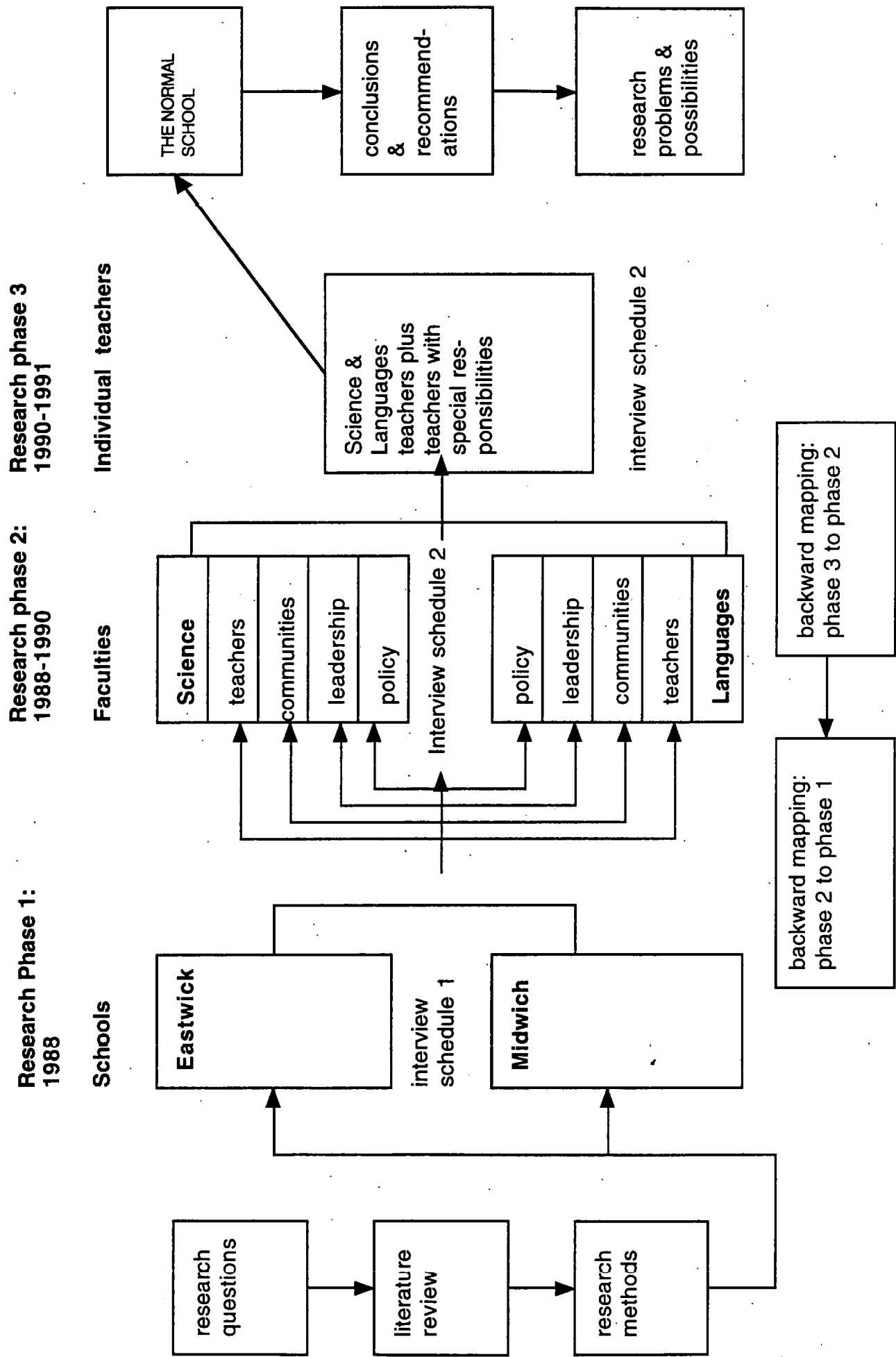


Figure 3.1 : Overview indicating the research phases, clusters of factors identified and processes of progressive focusing and backward mapping as used in this study

The specific school, faculty and individual organisational levels at which evidence was gathered (see figure 3.1, p.95) were only determined as each research phase concluded and concurrent data collection, and analysis confirmed or contradicted earlier findings, thus prompting further questions. However, the main methodological principle consistent with the purposes of the study was to identify opportunities for gathering empirical evidence for comparative analysis however small the units of analysis might be. As Glaser and Strauss observe (1967, p.21)

"Our discussion of comparative analysis as a strategic method for generating theory assigns the method its fullest generality for use on social units of any size, large or small, ranging from men or their roles to nations or world religions. Our own recent experience has demonstrated the usefulness of this method for small organisational units, such as wards in hospitals or classes in schools".

In the first research phase, scrutiny of documents at Eastwick and Midwich, observation in both schools and use of an interview schedule as a survey to gather a wide and diverse range of individuals' perceptions of antiracist multicultural education developments at both schools were consistent with its exploratory purposes at whole organisation levels of enquiry. The outcomes consisted primarily of better understanding of Eastwick and Midwich as organisations, their relations with various external "communities of interest", and their management of any antiracist multicultural education developments identified. This provided a basis for developing a framework of further research questions about anticipated antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford, and identification of any factors that might affect them.

The second research phase, from September, 1988 onwards, was expected to be concerned with analysis of antiracist multicultural education's implementation at the new school. This was consistent with Schofield's (1989, p.104/105) encouragement of researchers to study not only "what is" but also "what may be" during the "life cycle" of an innovation.

"Paying attention to where a phenomenon is in its life cycle does not guarantee that one can confidently predict how it will evolve. However, at a minimum, sensitivity to this issue makes it less likely that conclusions formed on the basis of a study conducted at one point in time will be unthinkingly and perhaps mistakenly generalised to other later points in time to which they may not apply".

The decision to shift the main research focus from whole school to faculty in the second research phase was made for two main reasons. Two categories of factors identified in the first research phase as likely to affect antiracist multicultural education developments, "curriculum" and "leadership", were expected to be given their most explicit expression at faculty level. Links with communities served and the characteristics of individual teachers, the two other categories of factors identified, were not ignored and this change of research level offered comparative data analysis opportunities from the Science and Languages faculties concerning all four conceptual categories, and with whole school data from the first research phase (see figure 3.1, p.95). The choice of the Languages and Science faculties for comparison was partly opportunistic, in that both Heads of Faculty expressed interest in the research, but also because they represented epistemologically different, or contrasted, traditions (see p.107).

Shortly after Stepford opened, and the second research phase commenced, I was obliged to become more directly and actively involved than anticipated in its professional development programmes, and more specifically interested in their effects on organisational developments. Potentially, this involvement offered opportunities to use my ongoing research to inform the professional development programmes which, in turn, could be used to inform the organisational developments I expected to study. In particular, I hoped that some members of Stepford's staff might be sufficiently interested to associate with my research, perhaps contributing to it as "teacher researchers" (Stenhouse, 1982), to benefit from it in terms of reflection on their own practice, and also to inform their part in the anticipated organisational developments to be studied. In the event, no teacher expressed sufficient interest in such a relationship.

My main interest in this second research phase, however, continued to be in the ways in which the whole school organisation, through its faculties in this instance, planned and implemented its antiracist multicultural education developments. Cumulative data collection and analysis in this phase began to generate questions about individual interpretations of, and attitudes and behaviours towards, antiracist multicultural education developments that more overtly rational and objective enquiry at whole school and faculty levels of enquiry had been inadequate to address. For example, the ways in which each head of faculty described their different approaches to influencing individual teachers responses towards antiracist multicultural education through curriculum and broader professional development required a much deeper and more detailed, individualised understanding of teachers' subjective dispositions towards its possible consequences.

Therefore, in the third research phase, from September, 1990 to July, 1991, my main source of research data was individual teachers' (see figure 3.1, p.95), and other individual

actors' responses to antiracist multicultural education developments through relatively unstructured "research conversations" (Spradley, 1979). In this phase, I was concerned to

"understand the fundamental nature of the social world at the level of subjective experience. It seeks explanation within the realm of individual consciousness and subjectivity within the frame of reference of the participant as opposed to the observer of action".

(Burrell and Morgan, 1979, p.28)

This individual actor focus signified a further shift of perspective from the beginning to the end of my research, from "external processes in a material world" to cultural studies "essentially concerned with the internal processes of human minds" (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p.229). In particular, I recognised the influence of language on the formulation and expression of an organisation's culture or public image, such that what is not said or written is frequently as important as what is said or written. In other words, "inexplicitness" about (Kirp, 1979), and "evasion" of (Young, 1981), contentious organisational characteristics such as cultural diversity and racism may be just as important indicators of a school's position concerning them as more overt and explicit statements. In this way, teachers' and others' third research phase interview data contributed to, and confirmed, emerging concepts of "the normal school" (discussed in chapter 9), one of the main contributions that my research makes to the field.

This third research phase interview data's subjectivity was supplemented by documentary and quantitative evidence (see table 3.5, p.116), consistent with my intentions to use any evidence that might help to answer my research questions (pp. 4-5),

although particular attention was also paid to the language in which all of these kinds of evidence were expressed or interpreted.

3.6 Research Samples

Ball (1990, p.38) states that "in the language of qualitative research, 'sampling' is a dirty word", a source of much contention about the "representativeness" of cases chosen and of the sources from which research evidence is gathered. It also gives rise to questions about the generalizability of research findings (Walker, 1978, p.190). Sampling, therefore, cannot be ignored, not least in accounting for "the dispersal of the researcher's time and energy in the organisation by places, persons and times (Ball, 1990, p.38). This section, therefore, identifies the main sources from which research evidence was derived.

I sought schools, departments, individuals and other sources of research evidence that could be analytically compared and contrasted: "the basic criterion governing the selection of groups for comparison is their theoretical relevance for furthering the development of emerging categories". (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p.49) My original intention had been to study and compare antiracist multicultural education developments in three Loamtown secondary schools, including Eastwick and Midwich, with the intention of comparing different kinds of secondary schools, but also in the interests of being able to move easily between them. Eastwick's and Midwich's merger, however, afforded an opportunity to study antiracist multicultural education developments from the organisational development benchmark of one, newly formed school, Stepford. This seemed likely to be both efficient and potentially effective, provided that advice about "cross-sectional" research design (Easterby-Smith et al, 1991) was heeded, mainly the adoption of a "longitudinal" approach "which focuses on a smaller number of organisations over long periods of time".

In my case study instance, different organisational levels of analysis, frequently involving the same research subjects, provided different organisational perspectives for comparison. Pettigrew (1985, pp.85/86) also recommends that "research should focus on the change processes within the broader social, economic and political context surrounding each organisation", and that it should gather "time series data' over periods significantly longer than the immediate focus". Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.66) recommend gathering "a variety of slices of data" of this kind because they yield more information on theoretical categories and their properties than any other "mode of knowing". In this way, explanations should emerge from examining patterns in the process of change.

Woods (1979) suggests that, 'place', context or setting significantly affect organisational and individual behaviour and I intended to examine any influences they might have on the subjects of my study. For example, given discussion of 'race' and class issues in my literature review (pp. 22-25), would there be a differences between the former Grammar School, Eastwick, and the purpose built Comprehensive School, Midwich's, academic and pastoral emphases? Had those emphases affected ways in which antiracist multicultural education had been managed in either school, and how might they affect developments at Stepford? And how might the former Eastwick's or Midwich's personnel's perspectives on those developments, in their school and at Stepford, be influenced by their experiences in them? Furthermore, would the Science and Languages faculties demonstrate the anticipated different epistemological perspectives on antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford and management of their development?

In the first research phase (see figure 3.1, p.95), I examined Eastwick's and Midwich's characteristics relevant to the proposed area of study through reference to different kinds of evidence from the LEA, the community and the two schools (see table 3.5, p.116). I

identified a cross-section of observation, documentary search and interviewing opportunities, including semi-structured interviews with samples of populations associated with Eastwick and Midwich and representatives of their local "communities of interest" (see table 3.1 p.103 and 3.2 p.106) This was affected by unforeseen difficulties in that Eastwick's head-teacher insisted on making his own selection of staff members for me to interview, and both headteachers felt that my observation of certain meetings in the sensitive period before their schools' merger might not be in either schools', or my longer term research's, best interests. As Ball (1990, p.39) observes, and as I have implied in my addition of "timing" to Bolam's (1975) "process over time" dimension (see figure 2.5, p. 48), the times at which change is most likely to occur are not always predictable, and researchers may find their research access restricted at the very times when events most crucially affecting change are taking place.

Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.66) also observe that,

"The (researcher's) strategy will be constrained by such structural conditions as who is available to be observed, talked with, overheard, interviewed or surveyed, and at what times. He (sic) should realise that no matter what slices of data he is able to obtain, comparing their differences generates properties, and most any slice can yield the same necessary socio-structural information".

However some of the same informants (see table 3.1 overleaf and table 3.3, p. 107), were revisited over the three and a half year period of my research having been appointed to positions in the new Stepford School and Community College. The names shown are, of course, pseudonyms

School-based staff interviewed in my first background information gathering research phase, from February, 1988, to July, 1988, are shown in table 3.1.

EASTWICK SCHOOL			MIDWICH SCHOOL		
Staff Member	Role	Age (est)	Staff Member	Role	Age (est)
Samuel Smart	Headteacher	55	Richard Gayford	Headteacher	55
Oswald Spofford	Deputy Headteacher	40	Dora Leebody	Head of Year	40
Joe Marino * [2]	Head of Biology	45	Alan Hughes [2]	Head of Science	40
Edward Parsley	Religious Education	50	Alfred Wait	Head of Religious/ Personal & Social Education	35
Raymond Neff	Special Needs Teacher	35	Sue Rougemont [3]	Special Needs Co-ordinator	40
			Ranjana Rushton *	Section 11 & History Teacher	30
Warwick Robeson	Head of Year	50	Wilfred Williams	Head of Year	55
			Harry Crankhart *	Physical Education & History Teacher	30
			Janet Daniels	Headteacher's Secretary	
Homer Perley	Head of English	60	Herbert Flagg [3]	Head of Humanities & Multicultural Education Co-ordinator	35

Table 3.1: Staff of Eastwick and Midwich Schools interviewed in the first research phase. February, 1988, to July, 1988.

* denotes a Black informant [] indicates the number of times interviewed

Individuals' ages, considered important in relation to their attitudes towards personal development and contributions made to organisational development (Liebermann and Miller, 1992/ Greer, 1988), have been estimated given the possible sensitivity and potential distraction from more important issues that direct questions might have aroused. Certain

distraction from more important issues that direct questions might have aroused. Certain former Midwich informants in table 3.1 (p.103) (Alan Hughes, Sue Rougemont and Herbert Flagg) are shown as being more frequently interviewed, in more research phases, than their colleagues from either school (see also table 3.4, p.109) because of their whole-school roles at Stepford in direct relation to antiracist multicultural education. Jo Marino, Eastwick's Head of Biology was also interviewed in the second research phase as a member of Stepford's Science Faculty. Asterisks after an individual's name denote that they are Black.

In the first research phase, I expected to have access to the headteacher, a deputy headteacher, five members of each school's teaching staff and a non-teaching member of staff as a balanced and representative sample from each school. However, Eastwick's headteacher nominated five male, senior teachers for interview, including one of his deputies, Oswald Spofford, and stated that it would be "unhelpful" to talk with certain others, particularly his secretary. Midwich's head-teacher asked for volunteers and, perhaps predictably, most of his specialist multicultural education and Section 11 personnel agreed to be interviewed. Eastwick had no specialist teachers of that kind although it qualified for Section 11 funding.

All of this pre-empted initial research access to larger or more representative interview samples from either school and made cross-matching between them difficult though not impossible in the instances indicated in table 3.1. I was fortunate in being able to interview representatives of pastoral care and curriculum, and arts and sciences subjects, in both schools and at least one Black teacher (Joe Marino at Eastwick, and Ranjana Rushton and Harry Crankhart at Midwich), from each school. However, the sample comprised mainly senior teachers and no women were interviewed at Eastwick. As table 3.1 indicates,

Eastwick's sample's age profile was older than Midwich's, a broadly accurate representation of age differences between staff in the two schools. Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.49) recommend that researchers should have control over, or, at least, be able to make choices about, the similarities and differences of groups selected for comparison, but I was unable to exercise either of these options in this first research phase or select individuals on the basis of representativeness. On the other hand, Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.48) argue that "Data collected according to a pre-planned routine are more likely to force the analyst into irrelevant directions and harmful pitfalls" if samples are not available as anticipated.

Ball (1990, p.39) again, reminds us that person sampling is "the most complex aspect of naturalistic sampling in fieldwork" and that, so long as its general and case specific difficulties are clearly recognised and accounted for in data analysis, there should be no problem. Problems exist if claims are made about what teachers' generally think, believe or do on the basis of such evidence. This issue is revisited in section 8 of this chapter concerned with research data reliability, verification and validation.

In addition to those identified in table 3.1 (p.103), persons shown in table 3.2 overleaf associated with either or both schools, but not school based, were interviewed in the first research phase.

Mary Migliardi	Loamshire County and Loamtown Borough Councillor: Hilltop Ward (Liberal) and Temporary Acting Chair of Stepford Governors. Chair of Governors Hilltop School & Community College. (Primary School Teacher)
Gordon Zellaby	Loamshire's Chief Inspector and Temporary Acting Head of Stepford
Shaukat Osman	Loamtown Borough Councillor, Midtown Ward (Labour), former Chair of Governors & parent of 2 students at Midwich and Stepford.
Jim Burke	Loamtown Borough & Loamshire County Councillor, Southside Ward (Labour) previously governor of Eastwick & later Vice-Chair of Governors Stepford. Parent of 3 students at Eastwick.
Edward Hamilton	Loamtown Borough Councillor Eastside Ward (Labour), later Chair of Governors Stepford & parent of 1 student at Stepford
Bernard Westcott	Loamshire County Councillor: Midwich Ward (Labour). Former Eastwick & Midwich Governor.

Table 3.2: Local Authority representatives interviewed September/November, 1988

Approaches to local political representatives were made through their Loamshire County and Loamtown Borough council group leaders; no reply was received from Conservative representatives on either council. Bernard Westcott had served as a governor at both Eastwick and Midwich, and three (Shaukat Osman, Jim Burke and Edward Hamilton) had children attending one of the schools. Mary Migliardi had worked as a primary school teacher in Midwich's (subsequently Stepford's) catchment area, and Gordon Zellaby, as Loamshire's Chief Inspector and Stepford's Temporary Acting Head recognised, and tried to take account of, those two different role perspectives in providing his research evidence.

When Midwich and Eastwick schools merged, my research focus shifted from institution to faculty level. Again, as shown in table 3.3 (p. 107), I interviewed two groups of school-based personnel, members of Stepford's Science and Modern Languages

faculties, mainly because their Heads of faculty seemed to be interested in the research but also because their different epistemological traditions might yield different kinds of empirical research data for comparative analysis.

SCIENCE FACULTY			LANGUAGES FACULTY		
Faculty Member	Role	Age	Faculty Member	Role	Age
Alan Hughes [2]	Science Faculty Head & Equal Opportunities Co-ordinator	40	Walter Eberhart [3]	Faculty Head (Modern Languages: new appointment)	35
Ike Mazzard	Science Teacher (formerly Eastwick)	45	Claude Axhelm	English Teacher Formerly Head of English, Midwich)	55
David Markowe	Science Teacher, Teacher Governor & School Information Technology Systems Co-ordinator. (Formerly Senior Science Teacher, Eastwick).	45	Yvonne Weisgalt [2]	French Teacher formerly Head of Modern Languages, Midwich).	35
Donna Claybrook	Science Teacher (formerly Eastwick and Midwich)	35	Frank Roddenbury	English/Drama teacher (formerly Eastwick and Midwich)	35
Jo Marino * [2]	Science Teacher (formerly Eastwick)	45	Harjinder Kaur*	Community Languages and Science Teacher	40
Don Ferrault	Science Teacher (formerly Midwich: appointed Curriculum Co-ordinator for Science September, 1990)	30	Charmaine Wimperis	Teacher English & General Studies Teacher	55

Table 3.3: Stepford School Science and Modern Languages Faculties' informants interviewed in the second research stage: 1988-1990.

* denotes a Black informant

[] indicates number of times interviewed

As in Table 3.1 (p.103), informants' approximate ages are shown, Black informants are identified by an asterisk, and figures in square brackets indicate the total number of times informants were interviewed by appointment. Alan Hughes left Stepford in July, 1990, and was replaced by Don Ferrault as Curriculum Area Co-ordinator (Science). Again, I spoke informally to most of the teachers shown in table 3.3 (p.107) on several occasions.

This tabulation reveals a number of potentially interesting pairings of teachers from each faculty for comparative and contrastive analysis purposes. Both Heads of Faculty were male and younger than several of their faculty members. David Markowe, Claude Axhelm and Yvonne Weisgalt had all been Heads of Departments in their previous schools but were without middle management status at Stepford. Donna Claybrook, Science teacher, and Frank Roddenbury, Drama teacher, had both taught at Eastwick and Midwich. Jo Marino, the Black Science teacher's non-involvement in antiracist multicultural education may also be contrasted with Harjinder Kaur's (also a Science teacher) imposed ESOL role. What this kind of summary information cannot convey, of course, is the intricacy and complexity of the social relationships between individuals, the informal interest groups and networks that affected not only the developments to be studied but also research access in some instances, and the fullness and reliability of data gathered. (Ball, 1990, p.39)

Several other individuals with general or specific antiracist multicultural education responsibilities or interests internal or external to Stepford were interviewed as shown in table 3.4 overleaf.

Internal to Stepford			External to Stepford	
Member of staff	Role	age	Name	Role
Herbert Sunderson	Headteacher (New Appointment) [2]	45	Dale Coba *	Parent Governor
Alan Hughes	Head of Science & Equal Opportunities Co- ordinator Midwich & Stepford [2]	40	Marge McCormick	LEA Section 11 Monitoring Officer
Sue Rougemont	Special Needs Co-ordinator [3]	40		
Herbert Flagg	Curriculum Area Manager (Geography). Formerly Multicultural Education Co-ordinator [3]	35		
Ed Merrill	Section 11 teacher [2]	40		

Table 3.4: Key antiracist multicultural education internal and external informants interviewed at different research stages as indicated in main text.

* indicates a Black informant.

Stepford's new headteacher, Herbert Sunderson, and members of staff in the new school with new or continuing responsibilities for multicultural education (Herbert Flagg), Special Needs (Sue Rougemont) and Section 11 work with bilingual pupils (Ed Merrill), all previously Midwich teachers, were interviewed by appointment and were engaged informally in conversation on several other occasions. In addition, a Black parent governor, Dale Coba, and Loamshire's Section 11 Monitoring Officer, Marge McCormick offered their views on developments. Again, approximate ages of school informants are given in square brackets; both "external" informants were aged between 40 and 50 when they were interviewed. Individuals and groups represented in this "ongoing inclusion" of research subjects had enough in common with others already interviewed to satisfy Glaser and Strauss' (1967, p.50) requirements that there should be some overall consistency of interest in persons sampled in relation to the issues studied.

In the third research phase, when my main focus was on individual interpretations of developments, 2 teachers from the Science Faculty (Don Ferrault, who became Curriculum Area Manager for Science when Alan Hughes left Stepford, and Donna Claybrook) and two from the Languages faculty (Walter Eberhart, Head of Faculty, and Yvonne Weisgalt) were interviewed. Further continuity was provided through interviews with the Head, Herbert Sunderson, and Herbert Flagg, although the latter relinquished his Multicultural Education Co-ordinator's post during this period to concentrate on his Curriculum Area Manager (Geography) responsibilities.

Where it was available, documentary evidence from national, local and institutional sources was scrutinised. This included minutes of school Governors' meetings, inspection reports and examination results as indicated in table 3.5 (p.116).

Intensive comparative analysis of these different "slices of data" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.66), and theoretical sampling (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.45), that is the amount of data collected on a category and analysed, was engaged in to "saturation" point. Briefly, this meant that the collection of further data was unlikely to reveal properties of categories contradictory to those already identified, any new or different properties identified simply adding to established categories' richness of detail (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 67/69).

One more individual's involvement needs to be identified if this sampling description is to be genuinely open and reflexive (Ball, 1990/ Gitlin et al, 1989, p.195); my own professional and research roles as discussed in the section that follows.

3.7 Research Roles

Burgess (1985a, pp.3/4) reminds us that participant observation is not an inherently superior educational research approach to any other. In adopting my essentially non-participant observer research role, I did not assume the "aloofness" from research subjects and situations, nor "eschew group membership" (Cohen and Manion, 1989, p.127). Much of my informal verbal and observation evidence, and some documentary evidence (notably the draft inspection report analysed in chapter 5), was acquired through frequent unscheduled staff room and faculty office interactions.

Huberman and Miles (1984, p.232/233) observe that "The researcher is likely, especially at the outset, to create social behaviour [.....] that would not normally have occurred", affecting the site to be researched and, in turn, being affected by the site. Bias, affecting reliability of research data as discussed in section 3.8, is likely to occur when the researcher "disrupts or threatens ongoing social and institutional relationships", informants switching into "onstage roles or special persona, a presentation of self to the outsider".

My professional role, as a member of Loamshire LEA's inspection and advisory service, required me to guide and support schools in their antiracist multicultural education and equal opportunities developments. I had worked in both Eastwick and Midwich from time to time prior to their merger, mainly in Midwich in 1985, concerned with dissemination of the Swann Committee report, and briefly in Eastwick, in 1984, when I was invited to formally address a staff meeting on the subject of cultural diversity in the curriculum.

Whatever my own perception of my role from 1988 onwards in relation to the schools and teachers discussed here, it was likely to be viewed differently by different individuals in each of the three schools concerned. My research role might, for example, have been perceived as an extension of my LEA role broadly concerned with multicultural education which might make research subjects wary of my observation and questioning, and guarded about discussing certain things with me. Also, my contacts with Stepford's senior management team and professional links with Loamshire LEA's Section 11 monitoring officer, among other LEA colleagues, would be likely to invest my relationships with individuals with a degree of ambiguity.

Huberman and Miles (1984, p. 233) recognise that, "for some analysts, local informants' interests are fundamentally in conflict with those of the researcher who might penetrate to the core of rivalries, compromises, weaknesses and contradictions that make up much of the basic history of the site, and that insiders don't want outsiders to know about". Consequently, I assumed that some informants might try to be intentionally misleading, and adopted an informed scepticism as researcher in most instances.

The extent to which I was actually - or was perceived to be - an active and intentional antiracist multicultural education change agent at Stepford during the second research phase presented problems for my full-time professional and part-time researcher roles as discussed in chapter 10.

In the final research phase, teacher informants' familiarity with my presence in Stepford almost certainly informed their easier and more open relationships with me as less of an external observer than in earlier research phases. Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.75) refer to "the time consuming aspect of data collection in establishing rapport with people who are to be interviewed or observed" and I felt that the kind of rapport that I would have wished to have with all my research subjects was only established with a few at this late research stage. Certain middle management personnel - notably Walter Eberhart, the Head of Modern Languages - expressed recognition of the extent to which I had been drawn into the same "subject" position as them through my responsibility to the SMT for the staff development programme.

Other researchers, depending upon the aims of their research, their own circumstances or cultural factors affecting the research context, might adopt more "marginal" positions such as that characterised by Woods (1979, p.261) as "involved" rather than participant. Assuming this role for certain specific research purposes himself, Woods did not take on an accepted role in the life of the institution.

"The involvement was in the relationships entered into with staff and pupils, an identification with the educative process and a willingness to go along with their perceptions of my role. These perceptions incorporated me into the framework of the school".

Weiss (1992, p.53) contrasts her concept of the 'insider' researcher role with that of an informed and honest "outsider" in believing that research work

"done from an outsider's perspective once this level of honesty is achieved is possibly better than that which could be done by an insider.[.....] The outsider is, in many ways, the best social critic once he/she acknowledges the role of personal biography in one's work".

My own research position, therefore, may be characterised by reference to Woods' "involved" researcher and Weiss' "informed and honest outsider". Additionally, reflection on my own role in relation to, and my possible influence on, the developments and outcomes studied was essential. As Woods (1990, p.62) observes,

"Reflectivity involves a constant monitoring of the rightness of what one is doing. It may involve, too, a change in the researcher's self. Research is an educative process, not only for what one discovers about others, but what one discovers about oneself. Taken-for-granted beliefs and assumptions, views on the world, comprehension of one's own interests, abilities and aspirations, may all come under review".

This, also, is an issue that is reconsidered in the last two sections of this chapter, and in chapter 10 with the benefit of data analysis in part 2.

3.8 Data Collection Methods

My initial choice of data collection methods was inevitably constrained by what would be

- acceptable to school managers and research subjects,
- relatively brief, explicit and unambiguous
- likely to yield relevant, verifiable answers, and
- manageable by me.

Case study research typically employs several different kinds of research methods determined by factors such as these or what Woods (1979) calls “fitness for purpose”, effectively the adoption of any research methods to achieve the project’s aims or purposes with different individuals and groups at different stages of the research’s development. Table 3.5 overleaf summarises the research methods used at different stages of my research together with examples.

Research Method	Example	Research Phase in which used		
		1	2	3
		February, 1988 to July, 1988	September, 1988 to July, 1990	September, 1990 to July, 1991
Interviews: Structured	Appendix 2	•		
Semi-structured	Appendix 4		•	
Unstructured				•
Observation	Governors' Meetings		•	•
	Classroom		•	
Documents	Policy	•	•	
Governors' meetings' minutes			•	•
Examination results report				•
Inspection report		•		•
Professional Development evaluation	Sample course evaluation (Appendix 6)		•	
Diary/Journal	(extract) (Appendix 7)	•	•	•

Table 3.5: Research methods, examples and research phases in which used.

The first “orientation” phase of my research was mainly concerned with

- any antiracist multicultural education developments that had occurred in either of the two previously existing schools;
- whether or not they had been consciously managed, and, if so,
- who, internal or external to the school, had influenced or been responsible for them,
- how the developments had been managed and,

- what respondents saw as the most important antiracist multicultural education issues (if any) the new school would have to address.

With the exception of the last category, all of these questions are consistent with Schofield's (1989) "what is" research interests. For gaining answers to those kinds of initial questions in Eastwick and Midwich, a comprehensive matrix overview (Table 3.6 p.119) of antiracist multicultural education (Woodruffe et al, 1981) and management in education (Bush et al, 1989) issues was devised. Huberman and Miles (1984, p.99) observe that

"Checklist matrices are easy to use when you know what a variable is about and you have rather crisply specified indicators of its presence. Under these circumstances, it makes sense to collect data on the indicator, and to use those data to refine and improve the matrix format".

This very wide-ranging, all-inclusive framework informed development of the first research phase interview schedule (appendix 2) used, as recommended by Huberman and Miles' (1984, p.8), as an aid to "intensive investigative reporting" and by Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.25) as "specifying the dimensions" of the substantive issues. Together with other figures and tables in this chapter, it may be seen as my response to Huberman and Miles (1984, p.34) statement that "better science happens when one makes one's framework - and associated choices of research questions, samples and instrumentation - explicit, rather than pretending some inductive purity". The matrix was also consistent with their suggestion (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p.27) that "social realities are usually too complex, too relative or too exotic to be approached with standardised instruments" and their preference for

"A more loosely structured, emergent, inductively 'grounded' approach to gathering data. The conceptual framework should emerge empirically from the field in the course of study. The most important research questions will become clear only later on; the most meaningful settings and actors cannot be predicted prior to fieldwork".

They also observe that "There are usually so many contending dimensions, and so many alternate realisations of those dimensions, that it is easy for researchers to lose intellectual control, get overwhelmed with multiple possibilities and finally say, 'There's no rational way to do this'. Setting up the possibilities in matrix form helps". (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p.42)

Categories of action	Organisation Theory	Curriculum	Financial Resources	Human Resources	Internal & External Relations
Categories of data related to the substantive subject					
Policy					
Equal Opportunities					
Opposition to Racism					
Curriculum					
Languages					
Classroom Practice					
Curriculum Resources					
Extra- Curricular Activities					
Pastoral Care					
Home, School & Community Relations					
Careers Education & Employment					
Initial & In- service Professional Development					

Table 3.6: First research phase data collection checklist matrix informing interview schedule 1 (Appendix 2): February to August, 1988.

The matrix identifies 60 different related organisation and management, and antiracist multicultural education issues, most of them examined in my literature review. However, some items, such as 'Curriculum' (Content) in the vertical axis, are very similar to others,

such as 'Curriculum' (Management), in the horizontal axis. Therefore, adopting but modifying the meaning of Ball's terminology (in Walford, 1991, p.176), I drew a distinction between "categories of data" about substantive issues such as equality of opportunity or curriculum development on the vertical axis, and "categories of action" concerned with their management on the horizontal axis. Issue might be taken with different interpretations of any of these categories - for example, with "organisation theory" as a category of action but it must be emphasised that, at this stage of my research, I was more concerned to gather the broadest and most objective data possible about the schools that were to merge as Stepford, to identify what antiracist multicultural education developments had occurred, and any that were likely to be required, than how or why different influences had affected developments (Yin, 1989).

The first research phase interview schedule (appendix 2) derived from this conceptualisation was piloted with six members of staff at a third Loamtown multiethnic secondary school with similar characteristics to those of the intended research population (Johnson, 1987, pp. 11/12). It was also discussed with a number of close friends involved in multicultural education and with Open University supervisors.

Interviewing recommended itself as my main means of empirical research data collection because, particularly in the first, "orientation" research phase, it could be used to gather relatively concrete facts whilst enabling me "to go deeper into the motivations of respondents" (Cohen and Manion, 1989, p.309). In the second research phase it offered a confirming and exploratory device Appendix 5, testing findings from the first phase and helping to identify new directions and relationships, and in the third it was particularly appropriate for gaining individual's subjective impressions of developments studied.

Interview schedules used with school staff were adapted for use with persons external to

the school such as elected members, parents and Governors, or members of the LEA's Inspection and Advisory Service, and could be made as informal and non-directive as necessary when used with interviewees who were apprehensive or anxious.

Comparison of interview schedules in appendix 2, used in the first research phase, and appendix 5, used in the second and third research phases, indicates that the first represents a "less formal" interview (Cohen and Manion, 1989, p. 307), although I asked each interviewee the same questions in the same way, and retained control of its main processes and purposes. The second schedule (Appendix 5) provided a basis for semi-structured, informal interviews (Cohen and Manion, 1989, p. 307) and was more consistent with what Huberman and Miles (1984, p. 46) refer to as an "interview guide" enabling me "to use a personally congenial way of asking and sequencing the questions, and to segment them appropriately for different respondents". The same schedule was used as little more than an aide memoire in the third research phase for what Spradley describes as "research conversations" (1979, p. 59). In other words, the most appropriate way of describing these schedules was by reference to ways in which they were used rather than to their structure or content.

The first interview schedule, applied to all subjects in tables 3.1 (p. 103) and 3.2 (p. 106), focused on internal and external influences on developments in Eastwick and Midwich perceived as "open systems" (Bolam, 1975/ Hoyle, 1986). Groups of questions focused on clusters of related aspects of school life; for example, one group of questions (viii [a] - [b]) was specifically concerned with "internal" policy, curriculum delivery, staffing and professional development, whereas (ix [a] to [c]) were broadly concerned with "external influences on developments".

This first research phase revealed very few antiracist multicultural education developments in Midwich and Eastwick, offered no explanations for the minimal development that had occurred and took very little account of group or individual teacher influences. However, it did yield consistent categories of interviewees' perceptions about influences adversely affecting antiracist multicultural education developments in Eastwick and Midwich, and likely to affect them in Stepford unless managed positively. These formed the basis for development of the semi-structured interview "guide" (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p.46) used in the main, second research phase (appendix 5) and applied to all subjects in figures 3.3 (p.107) and 3.4 (p.109).

The first research phase interview schedule was also used as the basis for a relatively structured interview with Herbert Sunderson, the new Headteacher, shortly after Stepford opened, and elicited from him the same kinds of perceptions of factors likely to influence antiracist multicultural education developments at his school that his new colleagues had identified before Eastwick and Midwich merged. "External" perceptions were sampled from a Black parent governor and the LEA officer responsible for monitoring Section 11 staff deployment.

It was during the second research phase that I began to attend governing body meetings, receiving agendas, minutes and other related documents, and observing their conduct. No pre-structured observation was undertaken but my detailed notes provided an alternative account of events that could be compared with minutes and participants' interview data.

Also, an opportunity occurred to "shadow" two students' during this research phase, ostensibly to observe their classroom experiences for the purposes of an LEA senior

management development course as discussed later (p.185). Reference is made to those students' accounts of their own experiences as evidence in its own right, but also as confirmation of my own observations of teacher attitudes and classroom behaviour in relation to ethnic minority students.

Although research in this "implementation" research phase did not reveal factors positively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford's faculty level, it served to confirm categories and sub-categories of factors identified in the first research phase as negatively affecting developments, and to sharpen my research focus on an emergent major theoretical concept, "the normal school" (see chapter 9), perceived to be inimical to antiracist multicultural education developments.

In the third research phase, I was mainly concerned to review antiracist multicultural education developments, or their failure, neglect or evasion, and encouraged individuals to reflect on perceived relationships between antiracist multicultural education policy and their own practice (Argyris and Schon, 1983 & 1987/ Stenhouse, 1982, p.25).

Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.61) observe that

"the criterion for judging when to stop sampling the different groups pertinent to a category is the category's theoretical saturation. Saturation means that no additional data are being found whereby the sociologist can develop (further) properties of the category".

In my judgement, no further categories or properties of the case being studied were likely to be revealed by further study although, as Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.63) also

suggest, "when writing is done in or near the field" the temptation to collect more data was especially strong. (see also Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 111)

Interviews were recorded on a hand-sized dictating machine using fifteen minute or half-hour cassettes and were transcribed verbatim. Brief written notes were also made in case the recorder failed, to record any incidents affecting the interview or to remind me about respondents' non-verbal behaviour. Copy transcripts were sent to each participant for checking, for alteration or deletion of inaccuracies, removal of unguarded but potentially damaging remarks, or to expand or elaborate on any issues raised by the interview. Only three people suggested changes, Midwich's Deputy Head-teacher to clarify his meaning and the two Stepford Science teachers interviewed in the third research phase. Stepford's head-teacher expressed surprise about certain of his comments in his second interview but concluded that "the recorder cannot lie". I also asked interviewees to contact me at any time if further thoughts occurred to them that might be relevant to my research; none did.

In each successive research phase, I placed increasing reliance on my journal entries (see Appendix 6). Reference is made throughout this thesis to different kinds of working journals (Nias, 1989, p.136) or professional diaries (Burgess, 1984) and "logs" that I have used for most of my adult and professional life to record potentially important information, and to contribute to my own "reflective practice". These are much less structured "diaries" than Hilary Burgess' (1985) primary classroom observation and teacher informant records, or Griffiths' (1985) teacher-researcher "field diaries" used in the wider comprehensive school environment. One of the journal's main contributions to my study was, as in Griffiths' (1985, p.198) words, to "stop (me) taking for granted the normally taken-for-

granted and to regard the familiar as unfamiliar for it is within such events that the themes and issues are embedded".

I also included in the third research phase's bank of empirical evidence the first quantitative school "effectiveness" data, in the form of public examination results, obtained from any of the schools studied, and a report of Stepford's inspection in May, 1991, by a Loamshire LEA inspection team. Most of the documents I examined provided useful information about things I had been unable to observe myself. This was particularly important in providing impressions of Eastwick's and Midwich's histories and their developing organisational cultures, offering accounts of others' insights into the schools (for example, the LEA inspection report) or in representing in a formal and considered, but interpreted, way comments made in situations observed, such as minutes of governors' meetings.

3.9 Analysing Research Data

During the first two research phases, I was fully occupied in fieldwork whilst engaging in as much comparative data analysis as possible, as recommended by Glaser and Strauss, (1967) and Miles and Huberman (1984). The latter observe (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p.49) that "Analysis during data collection lets the field-worker cycle back and forth between thinking about the existing data and generating strategies for collecting new - often better quality - data; it can be a healthy corrective for built in blind spots; and it makes analysis an ongoing, lively enterprise that is linked to the emerging effects of field work". Insights gained from the first research phase's "classificatory process" (Woods, 1990) of whole-school level data analysis were responsible for the generation of

"conceptual categories and their properties from evidence" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p. 23) on which research in the second phase, mainly at faculty level, was based.

In order to begin first research phase data analysis as quickly as possible after my fieldwork began, the 60 categories of potential influences on antiracist multicultural education developments represented by each "categories of data"/"categories of action" cell in table 3.6 (p.119) were coded (see Appendix 3). These codes, "semantic" (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p. 64) rather than numerical, were "retrieval and organising devices" allowing me to quickly identify, extract from different sources and cluster all data relevant to a particular question, concept or theme in preparation for analysis (see appendix 4 for example). They were attributed to different kinds of appropriate empirical research evidence, particularly passages from interview transcripts. Categorising data in this way was not something separate from the data analysis process itself. As Huberman and Miles (1984, pp.21/22) observe, in addition to having a practical "data reductive" use, "designing the rows and columns of a matrix and deciding which data, in which form, should be entered in the cells are analytic activities" in themselves. It is also evidence of a commitment to "orderliness, a certain degree of formalisation of the analysis process (in which) thoroughness and explicitness are quite paramount".

Huberman and Miles (1984, p.215) identify twelve "tactics for generating meaning" from data ordered in this way and analysed, and suggest that noting patterns and themes in the analysed data is "so easy" that there is a need for scepticism about conclusions drawn. On the other hand, "extreme differentiation" between variables can lead to "atomization and complexity" which indicate poor mapping of events and processes to be examined.

What Huberman and Miles (1984, p.216) describe as their “clustering” tactic, enabled me to identify from table 3.6’s (p.119) “categories of data” axis, community interests and the intended innovation’s meanings and purposes (Fullan, 1982, p.57), antiracist multicultural education (identified by most managers as "policy" and by most teachers in "curriculum" terms) as the predominant influences perceived by informants, and confirmed in other kinds of data, as affecting developments. The same sources identified two sub-categories on the “categories of action” axis’, under the “Human Resources” heading, leadership and individual teacher’s characteristics, as also influencing developments. This classificatory process, and further, more detailed analysis of data effectively eliminated all other categories as unlikely to affect developments significantly in the particular context studied.

The process also enabled early and tentative identification of a range of sub-categories, or what Glaser and Strauss (1967) call “properties”, as shown in table 3.7 below and the selection of what seemed to be the best exemplars of “repeatable regularities” (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p.68) in terms of specific items of relevant data.

Categories	Properties							
External Communities of Interest	Central Government		Local Education Authority	Parents	Communities		Local Political Interests	
Policy & Curriculum	Definition		Implementation		Monitoring		Evaluation	
Leadership	HMG	LEA	Governors	Head	Deputies	HOD's	Teachers	Others
Individual Teachers	Gender, ethnicity & age		Recruitment		Deployment		Professional experience & development	

Representation of these categories and their properties in this structured form enabled identification and comparison of their separate influences at different structural, institutional and individual levels but did not necessarily suggest or explain any kind of “vertical” relationship between them at this research stage. As Bryman (1989, p.3) observes "Organisational research tends to involve decisions about appropriate levels of analysis in at least two senses: the level or levels at which the research is conducted within the organisation and the most appropriate ways of aggregating data (as well as recognising that data collected at one level may be employed to make inferences about another level)".

Data collected and analysed in the second research phase in similar manner and form to those from the first endorsed and reinforced the categories and their properties already identified, and also amplified concepts of “the normal school” to which they all contributed. In this way, a general relationship between the different categories and their properties was revealed. For example, the relationship between the substantive issue, antiracist multicultural education and career opportunities as perceived by teachers, the example also cited by Huberman and Miles (1984, p.225), was clearly significant in its negative effects on developments.

Data collection and analysis in the third research phase, continued after it was evident that antiracist multicultural education developments were unlikely to occur as predicted at Stepford during the life of my research but they helped to “round out” my study by examining in detail “the previously untouched and unconsidered” (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.73) subjective perceptions of individual actors.

Huberman and Miles’ (1984, p.228) concept of the “evidential trail”, “getting an initial sense of the main factors, plotting the logical relationships tentatively, testing them against

the yield from the next wave of data collection, modifying and refining them into a new explanatory map, which then gets tested against new cases and instances" very precisely describes the "eliminative inductive" process through which my research progressed.

Summative data analysis in the third research phase also provided opportunities for "backward mapping" through earlier research material (as also indicated in table 3.1, p. 103). Although the process and its purposes are used in different ways from those described by Elmore (1981, p.22), it nonetheless describes an "analytic solution" that, among other things identifies

"relationships among political actors at various levels of the implementation process and the strategic use of funds to affect discretionary choice".

As used for my purposes, backward mapping helped to identify any important events or influences that might have been neglected at earlier stages of analysis, and to ensure that they were incorporated into final research findings. Elmore was mainly concerned to identify points at which significant decisions had been taken, or significant influences that had affected them, but I also used his methods to identify processes through, and points at which, decisions to adopt and implement antiracist multicultural education developments might have been taken, or had been ignored, evaded or resisted (Young, 1981/1983: also see Figure 3.1, p. 103).

The constant comparative method of analysing qualitative, and sometimes quantitative, data described here led to the emergence of two kinds of concepts about categories of concepts and their properties affecting antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford. As predicted by Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.102) "those that have been

abstracted from the language of the research situation itself" tended "to become labels for the actual processes and behaviours to be explained". Concepts that I constructed myself by reflecting on emerging understandings of the case studied, informed by experience and theory reviewed in chapter 2, helped to explain those processes and behaviours.

Indeed, the complexity of the research questions posed in my introduction and rationale, and their implications in terms of further and more detailed questions were not clarified until data from the first research phase in Eastwick and Midwich had been thoroughly analysed.

The analytical processes discussed here, however, achieved more than the revisiting of already identified categories of concepts and their properties affecting antiracist multicultural education developments at different organisational levels to confirm what had already been discovered. The cumulative and iterative processes also refined the specific properties of categories of influences, and revealed new research questions about, and understanding of, concepts of "the normal school" and its effects on antiracist multicultural education developments.

Woods (1990, pp 76/77) suggests that Glaser and Strauss' (1967) identification of certain kinds of "categories (of understanding) and their properties", "a particular kind of data - classificatory, processual", and an "interplay of data and conceptualisation" may contribute to a balance between theory "verification and exploration and formulation". In this way, my research began to move up from "the empirical trenches to a more conceptual view of the landscape" (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p.228) and towards an "abstraction making process" that is no more than a short step away from theory generation.

3.10 Reliability and Validity.

Glaser and Strauss (1967, p.28) state that

"Whilst verifying is the researchers' principal and vital task for existing theories, we suggest that his main goal in developing new theories is their purposeful systematic generation from the data of social research. [...] Thus generation of theory through comparative analysis both subsumes and assumes verifications and accurate descriptions, but only to the extent that the latter are in the service of generation".

But, as Huberman and Miles (1984, p.230) warn, "qualitative analysis can be evocative, illuminating, masterful and downright wrong" and qualitative researchers need to be especially vigilant about the "multiple sources of potential analytic bias that can weaken or even invalidate our findings". Hargreaves (1985), suggests that research evidence selected for analysis "Is not neutral and self evident, but produced for particular audiences and purposes". He cites Althusser (1979, p. 28), in observing that any researcher's identification and interpretation of data for analysis will reflect his or her particular theoretical and value orientations, just as surely as ways in which research questions are devised and asked affect findings and theories derived from the entire research process.

Walker (1978, p.201) also suggests that reliability is concerned with "the degree of fit between construct and data" and that "given high reliability it should be routine for other researchers to reach the same representations from the same events". This suggests a degree of generalizability from one case study situation to another that is contested by

Schofield (1989, p.96) who uses Guba and Lincoln's (1981) term "fittingness" to refer to the degree to which the situation studied matches others in which one might be interested. Schofield argues that this entails providing sufficiently detailed information, as I have tried to do, for readers to judge the extent to which the study of a particular situation is helpful in understanding another. Because it is almost certain that no other researcher will study the same kinds of issues, in the same place, for the same reasons and in the same way as me, replication as a test of its external validity is highly improbable.

Internal validation of my empirical research data relied mainly on the availability of permanent documentary records that could be re-examined and on informants checking transcripts of their own interviews, but I was unable to involve any of those individuals as co-researchers to also contribute to the internal validation of my research. However, provided that research procedures are as clear and explicit as I have tried to make mine here, outcomes should be recognised by intended audiences as arising from those procedures so that questions of research data validity should not be problematic.

Validity, however, may also be demonstrated by "triangulation" of data and its analysis into different kinds of evidence about the same issue indicating independent measures of agreement between them or, at least, no contradictions. Having "self-consciously" selected different samples, situations and modes of evidence that could be analytically compared, contrasted and cross-referenced, my "verification process (was) largely built into the data gathering process". (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p.234/235) Galton and Delamont (1985 p.168) identify three different kinds of triangulation that they considered for their "Observational Research and Classroom Learning Evaluation (ORACLE) studies:

"(i) Between method triangulation

(ii) Investigator triangulation, and

(iii) Within method triangulation".

My efforts to involve teacher subjects as co-researchers from the second phase onwards were unsuccessful so that no "investigator triangulation" (Galton & Delamont, 1985, p.168) as such, was possible. However, to the between method (combinations of interview, observation and document analysis) and within method triangulation that was possible, I added between research phase and between social or organisational level triangulation mainly through my adapted use of Elmore's (1981) concept of backward mapping and Glaser and Strauss' (1967) approaches to comparative data analysis.

Galton and Delamont (1985, p.172) argue that three possible methods of combining different kinds of quantitative and qualitative data are available.

(i) The sets of data could be treated equally;

(ii) the qualitative data could be treated as more valid and the quantitative data used to reinforce important and/or controversial points in the argument, or

(iii) the quantitative data could be regarded as 'the facts' and the qualitative used to 'flesh them out', illustrate them, or 'humanize' them .

They also observe that "while the first option is the most desirable, it has not seemed attainable in educational research". The mainly qualitative nature of my study and the lack of relevant quantitative data until the research's final stages recommended adoption of Galton and Delamont's (1985) second method, quantitative data being incorporated into analyses if available, or being used to support or illustrate particular points identified.

No source of relevant data, or data of any kind, has been consciously neglected or withheld from analysis in this study. Data that might seem, initially, to contradict or disconfirm my emerging theoretical categories or their properties have been examined as rigorously as any other. "The holistic fallacy" (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p.230), lopping off inconvenient or contradictory loose ends of data and their analysis, has not been invoked. On detailed examination, such data have been found to enrich and enhance categories to which they contribute (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 69).

Studies of education in relation to 'race' (Mac an Ghaill, 1988/ Gillborn, 1990), gender (Scott, 1985) and class (Willis, 1977) undertaken by White men raise questions about what Ball (1990, p.36) has described as "social relations in the field" and "the influence of categorical identities on the possibilities of data collection". This was not a main concern in my research, as it was for Gillborn (1990) and Mac an Ghaill (1988) in their research relationships with Black youth but it was an important one given the special insights that Black and Asian teacher informants brought to my understanding of 'race' and cultural diversity issues in the schools studied. But similar questions needed to be addressed when I, as a White male, interviewed Black or female subjects, or persons who perceived me to be in a more powerful position than them. Troyna (1993, pp.106/107) identifies three "trenchant criticisms about (which) the involvement and concerns of White researchers in 'race relations' research have crystallised".

(i) "That White researchers cannot elicit meaningful data from black respondents because of status and power differences between them". Thus it is argued that "the absence of shared socialisation and critical life experiences inevitably impairs the nature and value of the data". The same kinds of "symmetry" arguments might also be made concerning researcher/research subject relationships in which gender or class are operative. Davies (1985, p. 112), however, suggests that the "cultural stranger" role may afford the researcher certain advantages. For example, a White researcher might render more problematic and probe more deeply issues that a Black researcher and a Black informant takes for granted.

Mac an Ghaill's (1988, p.7) research into the experiences of a group of young Black women at a sixth form college led him to conclude that his study of Black females raised "methodological and political questions". He addressed them by making his own antiracist stance and minority group origins explicit, demonstrating his sensitivity to ways in which "social location in a stratified society influences one's perceptions" and how this informed his study.

I gave particular attention to my research relationships with ethnic minority informants in terms of reassurances about confidentiality and seeking to put them at their ease. Given my LEA role, I was unable to represent myself as having no obvious power over, or in relation to, most of them, nor could I assume an identity as a member of an oppressed minority group. Furthermore, statements about my own commitment to antiracism would not necessarily have appealed to all Black or Asian informants as data analysed in chapter 8 (p.315) indicates. The same data provided verbal and non-verbal indications that some Black and women informants were uneasy about scheduled interview sessions with me but all expressed a willingness to participate. Davies (1986), and Troyna (1993), conclude that

it is impossible to be certain about the effects of these kinds of social relations in the (research) field on data collected and its interpretation, but the possible effects of perceived “race”, ethnicity, gender and status relations on the reliability of data gathered is considered throughout empirical data analyses in part 2 of this thesis, and in my conclusions and recommendations in chapter 10.

(ii) Troyna’s (1993, p.107) second critical issue concerns ways in which White researchers might interpret data gathered from Black informants. He cites Parekh (1986, (p.24) in observing that White researchers have no experience of what it means to be Black and that they “lack an intuitive understanding of the complex mental processes and social structures of the black communities”. Consequently, accounts of Black communities by researchers such as Stone (1981) and Lawrence (1982) refer to empirically questionable concepts such as “negative self-image” and “unrealistically high aspirations” in those communities which “pathologize” impressions of Black communities and offer little challenge to racial inequality or the racist ideologies in which they are founded. Again, as will be evident in data analysis chapters that follow, I have challenged and confronted research evidence (pp.197-205) that refers to stereotypical images of particular groups of students, their parents or their communities.

(iii) The third element of Troyna’s critique (1993, p.108) concerns White researchers’ “self-appointed role” as “ombudsman” for the Black community in its struggle for racial equality and social justice. If the validity of data gathered by White researchers about any ethnic minority community is as questionable as Troyna believes it must be, and if its outcomes might be used by central government, “local state” or institutional policy makers in maintaining and legitimating racial inequality and injustice, it would be impossible for

White researchers to reconcile even the most genuine of antiracist values and principles with any of their research focusing on Black communities.

My research does not focus specifically on ethnic minority communities or individuals but Troyna's warning is nonetheless relevant for any researcher, White or Black, presuming to speak for minority groups about their needs and aspirations. I speak for no other individuals' or communities' interests. The data that I alone have gathered and analysed represents my understanding of the issues studied although I trust that my conclusions would not be very different from those drawn by another researcher from any cultural background. In Walker's words (1978 p.203), the validity or "truth conditions" with which I am most concerned are those attempting to "capture and portray the world as it appears to the people in it".

Troya's third criticism would be relevant to my research if its publication affected authoritative perceptions of the kind of education, or aspects of that education, that "the Black community" would accept as fair and just in social and educational terms.

The converse observations (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p.230) that I might have been overawed by evidence from especially articulate informants ("elite bias"), or that I might have lost my critical analytical edge by identifying too closely with certain research subjects by "going native", is contradicted by my analyses in part 2 of data from Headteachers and politicians, on the one hand, and from teachers on the other.

The validity of my interpretation of the few Black and women informants' remarks gathered, or any others', must remain a matter of judgement for the reader. Although informants approved transcripts of their own interview as an accurate record, none have

seen my analyses of their remarks so that the affirmation of what Phillips (1989) describes as a "community of believers" has not been obtained. However, Glaser and Strauss (1967, pp.66/67) suggest that the reliability of data may also be judged in the similarity of informants' testimonies contributing to different categories of data, and confirming of their properties. For this reason, among others, verbatim interview evidence is represented extensively in data analysis chapters.

3.11 Access Issues and Ethical Questions

My research experience suggested that these two issues are related, if not directly linked, and that it might be productive to consider them under the same heading here.

Informal verbal approaches to Eastwick's and Midwich's Headteachers early in 1988 gained me research access to both schools in principle. I wrote to them shortly afterwards enclosing a copy of my research proposal; restated my conviction that the research was worthwhile and that I was competent to carry it out; explained why their co-operation and that of their colleagues was important, and indicated my intention to make research outcomes as useful as possible for their schools. Absolute confidentiality was guaranteed and reiterated frequently when individuals were interviewed or documents scrutinised. I made no assumptions that I had any right to be in Eastwick or Midwich, or Stepford subsequently, and I wrote, usually at the end of each term, to thank headteachers for their co-operation and to every individual who shared interviews or documents with me.

As Bryman (1989, pp2/3) predicts, Eastwick's and Midwich's headteachers acted as "gatekeepers", as described earlier (p.104) concerned with sampling. I accepted both headteachers' ground rules, particularly in relation to access to school personnel. It was

also evident that certain public documents referred to by headteachers, such as Eastwick's equal opportunities policy, were not known about by persons who might have been expected to have seen them. I was also aware that my own access to documentary evidence was restricted, as difficulties in gaining sight of Eastwick's equal opportunities policy and Stepford's inspection report indicated.

At the beginning (Autumn, 1988), and near the end (Summer, 1990), of the second research phase, Stepford's Head-teacher confirmed my research access to that school and to two faculties, Science and Languages, in particular. He also made himself and three teachers with nominated antiracist multicultural education related responsibilities available for interviews and informal discussions, and arranged for me to attend Governors' meetings. Although he offered to facilitate my access to Governing Body sub-committee meetings concerned with curriculum, resources (finance) and community links, and SMT meetings at which, he said, multicultural and antiracist education would be discussed, I gained access to none of those meetings. My attempts to observe Stepford's Multicultural Education Policy Development Working Party meetings were also unsuccessful because, according to the Multicultural Education Co-ordinator, my "experience might inhibit participants".

In the later months of 1989 and the first of 1990, I attended an LEA Professional (LEAP) development course (Hall, 1989) for Loamshire secondary schools managers as if a member of Stepford's senior management team (SMT) and kept detailed notes of their contributions and reactions. I also attended two staff training days in the school during the first of which, at the beginning of the 1989/90 school year, the Head drew his staff's attention to my presence as "a fly on the wall doing research and, therefore, wishing to remain inconspicuous". (Journal) This may be interpreted either as a friendly and light-

hearted reference to my presence or as a warning that they should be circumspect if I showed interest in their particular activities that day.

I was also required to facilitate Section 11 staff development programmes at Stepford (see pp. 303/304), extended to all teachers and governors, from February, 1989 until July, 1990. This necessitated my frequent presence at Stepford school (at least twice weekly) and brought me into contact with members of staff and others who were not members of the two faculties specifically sampled in the second research phase.

Research access to schools and personnel was fully and willingly offered in most instances but, at different research stages, and for different reasons (and probably as perceived by different individuals) my research relationship with the schools was characterised by a full range of good and indifferent experiences. Occasional external controversies, such as the London Borough of Brent's Development Programme for Race Equality (DPRE) "Race Spies" initiative (Barrow, 1986/ Lane, 1988), adversely affected my research relationships with Eastwick and Midwich, and the headteacher's public reference to my confidential, ethnic minority student shadowing report for the LEAP training course referred to later (p.185) adversely affected my relationship with Stepford teachers. A Faculty Head expressed suspicion about its purposes ("Who was Don really watching?"), and about my research generally. This incident, among others, served to illustrate the importance of Bryman's (1989, p.4) observation that "researchers must resist attempts by adversaries within organisations to use them as sources of information about each other". Furthermore, as Hilary Burgess (1985, p.180) observes, "identification of the researcher with the gatekeeper [.....] may create suspicion among the researched".

None of my research strategies or techniques was either inconsistent with British Educational Research Association (BERA) guidelines or principles of "informed consent" (Berger & Patchner, 1988, p.93) although my LEA role in relation to the schools studied presented me with moral dilemmas, as described overleaf. I was already aware of sensitivities about 'race' related issues at both Midwich and Eastwick before I commenced my field research given my professional involvements with them described earlier (p.111). Although my letter to each head-teacher requesting research access identified the substantive issues and processes to be studied, it is unlikely that any of them, or their participating staff, recognised that their own 'race' and cultural diversity values and attitudes, or that their individual roles and responsibilities in relation to the developments anticipated, would be under scrutiny. Although these foci might seem inevitable in retrospect, no individuals sought clarification, and I offered none. Had such a clarification been made public, it is probable that it would have affected the quality of data, particularly interview data, that I was able to gather, and might possibly have restricted my research access altogether.

This element of covertness would have been redressed if members of Stepford's staff had collaborated in my research activities. But this would have raised further ethical questions about access to interview data offered, in most instances fully and willingly, given assurances of complete confidentiality. This dilemma is examined by Jenkins (undated in Hammersley, 1986, p.221). He observes that "there is an ethical problem at the heart of case-study research", and cites Adelman et al (1976) in arguing that

"Because it is rooted in the practicalities and politics of real life situations, it is more likely to expose those studied to critical appraisal, censure or

condemnation. [...] The limiting consideration is that the case study worker acknowledges that others must live with the consequences of his findings".

Further ethical questions arose from instances in which I became aware of inappropriate or improper behaviour that, in other circumstances, would have resulted in disciplinary action. From time to time, persons interviewed in confidence revealed information about, for example, other colleagues' alleged racist behaviour or the misuse of Section 11 funding intended to support work with minority ethnic group students. There were also instances in which interviews became professional consultations about career aspirations or organisational relationships.

I was apprehensive about trying to resolve the dilemmas that these revelations represented, knowing that if I challenged alleged wrongdoers or divulged any of this information my research presence was likely to be untenable. My conscience was salved to some extent by a growing recognition that SMT or LEA personnel with more direct management responsibility for those issues knew as much about specific misuses or abuses as me but were either unwilling or unable to take necessary action.

3.12 Dissemination

"The whole point of a research account is that someone other than the writer shall see it, and it may well prove of interest to a select or extended circle of researchers and/ or educationalists". (Johnson, 1987, p.18)

Throughout the fieldwork period, I submitted periodic site and progress reports as nearly as possible in the form of "chapters" for an eventual thesis. These chapters have

been changed and re-drafted many times but I have contributed several journal articles about my ongoing research experience (Lee, 1989/ 1992a/ 1992b) based on them and they have contributed directly to my professional educational understanding and practice (Lee & Saini, 1996). I have also contributed seminars and reports on my research to The Economic and Social Research Council (1991) and University of Marburg, Germany, (1991), Open University (1990/1995/1996), and De Montfort and Luton Universities (1992). I have tried, therefore, to convey the essence of my research and something of my empirical experience to others with similar interests in its substantive topics, in qualitative research methods or both.

Threadgold (in Burgess, 1985b) explores practical problems of translating teacher-provided evidence at classroom and school micro-levels into macro-level theory which is useful to other teachers and researchers. I would have encountered some of the ethical problems she identifies if I had attempted to share my research with Stepford teachers, as much in terms of moral obligation and mutual enlightenment (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p.242), as in terms of contributing to school based INSET and organisational development. But that would have entailed dissemination, however limited, within professional, local and institutional communities in which individuals and events would be readily recognisable and, thereby, confidences betrayed. Huberman and Miles (1984, p.233) regret that "fundamentally, field research is an act of betrayal [...] making public the private and leaving the locals to take the consequences".

I am conscious that, paraphrasing Johnson (1987), by doing all that I can to increase and disseminate understanding of the topic under study, I (as social enquirer) could repay information and cooperation from others but that would not have been acceptable if the cost was an undermining of confidence in educational researchers, and alienation of

school-based colleagues. Even supplying the principal gatekeeper (Stepford's headteacher) with a copy of the research report as a matter of courtesy, might have been construed as irresponsible given my experiences after submitting my report on "shadowing" pupils' classroom experiences in 1990 (see p.185).

It was always my intention, nonetheless, that my research's processes and outcomes should be understandable by, at least, the teachers who shared their perceptions with me. Technical accessibility to research methods and outcomes by others was something that I tried to take into account at all stages in the research's overall design, particularly in selecting research methods and writing up. However, access to the detail of my research will probably need to be withheld from its school based informants given the frankness of their interview statements - sometimes about each other.

Other alternatives might be to publish a thoroughly depersonalised report of research findings and recommendations, or to develop insights and understandings from my research into more general professional and organisational development training materials that do not refer, even anonymously, to persons or places. In effect, this process has already begun with publication of BEMAS (1989) and Multicultural Education (1995) journal articles but, most importantly, my research has continued to inform my daily professional interests and responsibilities. My "Antiracist Multicultural Education: Policy to Practice" paper (Lee & Saini, 1996), which draws extensively on my research, represents a substantial "theoretical foothold" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.245) in diverse and unfamiliar organisational contexts in which I engage in routine antiracist multicultural education developmental work (though not in Stepford or Loamshire).

Part 1: Chapter 4. Social, Political, Historical and Cultural Contexts.

This chapter identifies key social, political, and historical circumstances and events directly or indirectly affecting the schools in which my research was set. Characteristics of Stepford School and Community College, and of the schools that merged to form it, Eastwick and Midwich, together with the communities they served, are examined. Their different locations, histories, organisational structures, some of their personnel, student intakes and communities are identified as a backdrop of information against which antiracist multicultural education developments in the new school, Stepford, are analysed in Part 2. Data were gathered from document searches, observation and interviews with informants identified in chapter 3 and are presented according to different "levels" of potential influence external and internal to the schools.

However, these relatively objective, frequently well-documented, perceptions rarely articulate a further contextual dimension comprising different kinds of ideological and values perspectives affecting the schools and individuals concerned. Where evidence was readily available of these perspectives' direct and indirect bearing on Eastwick and Midwich immediately prior to their closure, and on Stepford School and Community College subsequently, it is discussed in this chapter. Ideological and values positions are also examined further, and in more detail, as they arise from analysis of empirical data in part 2 of this thesis.

4. Introduction.

In the past fifty years, as a consequence of war, the break-up of its Empire and its relative prosperity, Britain has become the most culturally diverse nation in Western Europe. It was already culturally diverse given its traditions of trading, including slave trading, and providing sanctuary for religious and political refugees (Fryer, 1984). Post-war immigration to Britain was greater in terms of numbers, and more conspicuous in terms of the colour and culture of the migrants, than anything experienced previously (Rose, 1969). Migrant settlement was not evenly distributed, and cultural and other differences were accentuated in certain, mainly urban, locations. Majority White communities have not always accepted migrant settlers readily, some minority groups protesting about unfair and unjust treatment they received in, for example, seeking work or in education, and racist organisations actively fomenting discord in multicultural communities.

Troyna and Hatcher (1992, p.187) observe that the theorising of racist incidents has tended to be concerned with either 'macro' or 'micro' explanations, very few attempts having been made to connect the two and synthesise them into a more holistic model. Hargreaves (1985, p.43) maintains that the gulf between these different kinds of explanations has rarely been broached let alone breached and goes on to suggest that the two perspectives' integration might be achieved through research projects that focus on different educational settings, spelling out the links between them. In the following description of the social and educational context within which my research was set, I have tried to take account of both macro and micro contextual influences on developments studied.

4.1. National Policy Contexts

Education featured early in migrant community concerns and central government responses to them (Select Committee on Race Relations and Immigration, 1969/ DES, 1981). The Race Relations Act (1976) required local authorities and their institutions, such as schools and colleges, to respond to minority groups' needs, and Section 11 of the Local Government Act (1966) provided central government part-funding for local initiatives. In education, increasingly specific Home Office guidance has been issued restating Section 11 funding's main purposes in assisting minority ethnic group learners' "integration" into mainstream curriculum activity. This was interpreted by many working in the field as emphasising cultural conformity and denying diversity. The Rampton (1981) and Swann (1984) Committees' reports drew attention to the substantial task to be undertaken in education if the spirit and intention of Britain's 'race' relations legislation was to be implemented satisfactorily. As indicated in chapter 2 (p. 21), that task was relegated to a diminishing order of priority during the period of Conservative government that ended in 1997.

The Education Reform Act (1988) was described by the then Secretary of State for Education, Kenneth Baker, as "a charter for better education" which would "galvanize parental involvement in schools" (Times Educational Supplement, 27.11.87). Ball & Troyna (1989, pp.22/23), however, argued that its measures would "discourage bottom-up educational innovation through setting limits to what is possible" and going "a long way towards the realisation of one of the cherished goals of Thatcherism, central omniscience" (pp. 23/31), meaning an arrogation of educational decision making power to central government. Local government lost much of its decision making power in relation to

schools and colleges, its role being summed up by Troyna (1989) as little more than "administering the state locally".

The Act made no specific references to contemporary Britain's multicultural society and its implications for education, and the National Union of Teachers was "scathing about (its) disregard for the needs of multiethnic and multicultural communities". (Times Educational Supplement, 28.09.87). The National Curriculum was essentially English in its cultural orientations and the Schools Curriculum Council's multicultural education cross curricular working party's report was the only such report not published. Central government and its new developmental and regulatory agencies, notably the Schools' Curriculum and Assessment Authority (SCAA) and the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), maintained a marked distance from, and silence about, these issues.

Media agencies, mainly newspapers and television, contributed in a less formal and academic, but nonetheless influential and mainly negative way to the climate in which issues were debated. The period immediately before my field research began was characterised by, among other things, extensive media coverage of racist and antiracist issues in education including the murder of a student, Ahmed Ullah, at Burnage School, Manchester (MacDonald et al, 1989). Hardy and Vieler-Porter (1992, pp.103/104) cite this as a prime example of the media's negative commentary on antiracist policies. "The supposed 'failures of anti-racist policies' in Burnage High School [...] were presented as the cause of the breakdown in order in the school and implicitly the death of Ahmed Ullah". They also argue (1992, p.104) that mismanagement was one among several factors that "allowed racism to kill Ahmed Ullah". Troyna and Hatcher (1992, p.188/189) describe the MacDonald Report as "a unique anatomy of racist harassment in schools. It documents the antecedents and consequences of the tragedy, indicts senior staff of the school (and the

local authority) for its mismanagement of relations between the school and local communities before and after the incident and explicates from the incident its implications for the future formation, orientation and implementation of policies and procedures in antiracist education". Hardy and Vieler-Porter (1992 p. 102/106) also refer to the media's role in controversies surrounding White pupils' allocation to a multiethnic Church of England Junior school in Dewsbury and their parents' claims that the school would be unable to support their culture. "The central role of the media in articulating the demands of these white parents and selectively focusing on the issue of their right to choose the school for their children, enabled the issue of parental choice, already a key strategy in the Tory education reform, to be played out in racial terms". Parents' complaints about standards of education at the multiethnic Highbury Quadrant school, in London, were also extensively and intensively publicised by the media. The London Borough of Brent's Development Programme for Race Equality (DPRE) was officially investigated by three different agencies, The Home Office, The Commission for Racial Equality and a research team appointed by the Borough itself. none of those enquiries concluded negatively about the DPRE initiative, yet *The Daily Telegraph*, among other newspapers, comprehensively derided it.

"It is unpleasant and potentially dangerous for central government to over-ride democratically elected local authorities. But as the Government watches the race relations policies of Brent County Council proceeding from the absurd to the evil, it may feel that it has no choice but to act. [.....] Mr Baker, the Education Secretary cannot allow this to go on". (quoted by Richardson, 1992, p.137)

BBC Television's "Panorama" report on Brent's DPRE included interviews with Loamshire teachers as "refugees" from antiracist education in the North London borough. And over all this hung the professional "martyrdom" (Ouseley, 1990, p.132) of Ray Honeyford, one-time Head of Drummond Road Middle School in Bradford, who claimed that his position had been made untenable because he rejected the kinds of developments in his school that are the subject of my research. Media coverage of these and related controversies represented antiracist multicultural education as essentially problematic but, in all of them, weaknesses or failure of management at local education authority or institutional levels figured prominently.

Ouseley, (1990, p.131/132) recognises the negative consequences for 'race' relations of "the gutter press" [.....] blatant media lies", and of shifts in political power from local authorities to a "hostile" central government, but he also observes that "resistance to fundamental institutional change over the past decade to incorporate meaningful race equality programmes through local authority activities has derived from forces within the authorities themselves as well as external pressure". He also recognises the all pervasive negative influence and effect on public institutions, such as schools, of the individual enterprise and survivalist culture promulgated as "Thatcherism", with its litany of "cost-effectiveness, value for money, rationalisation, efficiency, performance related reviews, output measures, cost indicators and decentralisation".

In that culture, Ouseley argues, concern for underprivileged and "usually excluded" groups is equated with "left-wing municipal socialism and lunacy" which, together with "colour blindness", ensures that cultural minorities' interests are also ignored at organisational level. In other words, however powerful media and other influences might

be, there is a case to be answered by local authorities (including LEAs) and individual institutions that neglect 'race' equality and cultural diversity policy developments.

The issues discussed here are only some of the many structural influences (see figures 2.2 p.19 and 2.3 p.39) impacting on organisational, departmental and individual responses to the kinds of developments I intended to study.

4.2 Local Political, Social and Historical Influences

Following the second world war, Loamshire attracted migrant labour from different parts of Eastern and Southern Europe, the Caribbean and, latterly, the Indian sub-continent. Extrapolated 1981 census data indicated that, at the time my research began, approximately one fifth of Loamtown's population was of minority ethnic group origin.

Indirect local influences on Eastwick and Midwich included the town's independent school trust, and its secondary and numerous feeder preparatory schools attended by many of Loamshire's LEA maintained school teachers and their children. Although the trust's schools are administered as a charitable foundation intended to benefit all children in Loamtown, admission is by entrance examination. The only pupils they accept who are unable to pay their fees in full have won scholarships and benefit from an "assisted places scheme" subsidised by Loamshire LEA. For parents who can afford their fees, the schools also provide an alternative for parents dissatisfied with their children's state school. Local newspapers, among other influences, have conveyed an impression that these schools' "standards" (usually defined in academic terms) are better than those of local state schools although the recent development of "value added" measures of schools' effectiveness have cast doubts on that assumption (Mortimore et al, 1997). Nonetheless, the schools' sporting

and academic successes, and their essential "Englishness" in cultural terms, are much publicised in local newspapers as examples of what "a good education" comprises. Eastwick's first Head had been a senior master in one of the trust's schools, creating the new Eastwick Grammar School in its image in 1962.

Three local newspapers were published in Loamtown, one of them, the Loamtown News, adopting a conspicuously positive stance towards Eastwick and a negative stance towards Midwich and Stepford, usually by publishing selective comments by County Councillors opposed to the latter two schools, without reference to contrary or alternative views. For example, in December, 1983, when it had already become evident that Loamtown schools would have surplus secondary school places equivalent to the complement of one full school, the Loamtown News published the suggestion by a Midwich Conservative councillor governor, at least five years ahead of her central government's later policies, that giving parents freedom of choice to select their child's school would ensure that Midwich closed. The Loamtown News' editor's son attended Eastwick until it merged with Stepford.

Reference is made later in this thesis (p.277) to pockets of Loamtown political and educational opinion that antiracist education was responsible for more problems than it resolved. Nonetheless, Loamshire County Council published its "Policies for a Multicultural Community" in 1983, its Education Department contributing only "principles" on which a later policy might be based. At the same time, the LEA endorsed the continued use of separate centres for English as a second or other language (ESOL) learners, despite Bullock Report (1975) and Commission for Racial Equality (1986) recommendations about supporting more ethnic minority students within mainstream classrooms.

4.3 Eastwick School.

Eastwick opened in 1962 as a mixed, 11-18 Grammar School serving most parts of Loamshire county, Loamtown also being served by several 11-16 Secondary Modern Schools. Its buildings were designed on traditional lines, distributed around a central quadrangle, with only its Science laboratories in a separate block.

One of Eastwick's deputy headteacher posts had been occupied by a woman until shortly before the school's merger with Midwich but when she resigned a male replacement was appointed. The only other woman teacher with a senior post of responsibility was Head of the Mathematics faculty.

Most of Eastwick's staff had been appointed to the school when it opened as a grammar school in 1962 and, although the school prospectus identified twelve departments, and seventeen subject "statements", including one for Latin, individual teachers retained the curriculum subject specialist status they had enjoyed as grammar school teachers. Their only specified pastoral duties were as in-school form tutors. Older male, mostly former Physical Education, teachers occupied Head of Year posts concerned mainly with discipline. At some time between Eastwick's first Head's retirement in 1976 and Midwich's opening in September, 1978, an unspecified and unprecedented number of Eastwick teacher posts were enhanced to senior teacher status. This meant that, when Eastwick and Midwich merged, 40% of the new Stepford School's potential staff had senior teacher status. Although several senior Eastwick staff, such as Homer Perley, Head of English, retired or resigned at that time, others such as Edward Parsley and Warwick Robeson (see table 3.1, p.103) continued at Stepford. So many senior teachers from both

Eastwick and Midwich continued at the new school that Loamshire LEA was obliged to make special financial provision to accommodate Stepford's inflated salaries expenditure.

In the 1972/3 school year, one year before the comprehensive reorganisation of most English secondary schools, Eastwick became a 13-18, mixed, non-selective school serving only central and north Loamtown. It continued to draw its pupils from predominantly White, Anglo-Saxon, nominally Protestant, aspiring professional communities, Sixth Form numbers being boosted by students enrolling after completing "Ordinary Level" examinations in Loamtown's independent schools. LEA maintained school examination results were not published routinely in Loamtown until after my research ended but a local secondary schools consortium's analysis published in February, 1987, showed that 52.8% of Eastwick's Ordinary Level candidates gained five or more passes, and that 83.4% of its Advanced Level candidates gained three or more passes at higher grades. This placed the school eighteenth (two places above Midwich) in the Loamshire schools' Ordinary Level, and second in its Advanced Level, examinations rankings. The Headteacher only disputed the Advanced Level percentage pass rate, claiming that it should have been 85%. This seemed to indicate that Eastwick's Advanced Level examination successes depended more on post-16 enrolments than on its pre-16 teaching and learning accomplishments.

Following comprehensive reorganisation, which left no secondary school in West Loamtown, and until the 1978/9 academic year when Midwich opened, many working-class Caribbean, Indian, Pakistani and Southern Italian origin students from that part of Loamtown attended Eastwick. Students were organised for curriculum delivery purposes into four bands, numbered 1 to 4, broadly consistent with individual's predicted GCE Ordinary Level successes, with the exception of Band 4, which was described as "remedial" and had no examination entry expectations. Eastwick's remaining ethnic

minority students, after Midwich opened, were over-represented in Band 4. A group of more than thirty fourteen to sixteen year old, African Caribbean students comprised a Black City and Guilds "Basic Skills" course group taught by two Special Needs teachers in what was described by other members of staff as either "The Nest" or "the remedial room".

Approximately 950 pupils enrolled for Eastwick's final academic year in September, 1987, although official figures published early in 1988 (see table 4.1, p.158) indicate that some 60 pupils did not take up their places at the school or left during their first year at Stepford.

4.4 Midwich School

Midwich opened in 1979 as a purpose built, mixed, 13-18 comprehensive school on a West Loamtown site that stood between exclusive, suburban, private housing developments adjacent its North gates and inner urban, multiethnic, working class communities to its South. Its buildings were of modern design, mostly single storey, and its facilities were described by Midwich Ward's County Councillor, Bernard Westcott, as "the best in the County". Built to accommodate 1,100 students, more than 80 staff were appointed in anticipation that approximately its capacity student intake would enrol and remain for the first five years of the school's life. With the exception of Modern Languages and English, each faculty occupied a separate building. The school's senior management team comprised the headteacher and three deputy headteachers. Heads of Department co-ordinated the work of disparate groups of staff, including some specialists with others offering no distinct subject specialism and working in several different faculties.

The Heads of both Eastwick and Midwich explained that, because there had been very few recent appointments of staff to either Eastwick or Midwich, no new Black staff had been recruited. Women and Black teachers were not represented in senior posts of responsibility at either school and both schools appointed White, male PE teachers as Year Heads consistent with Duncan's (1988) predictions about their route to senior management positions.

Organisation for curriculum delivery was actually very similar in both former schools, Midwich's two level "banding" plus separate "special needs" provision being virtually the same as Eastwick's three level "streaming" plus a permanent remedial teaching group. At Midwich and Eastwick similar "ability" testing on entry to each school, heavily dependent on English language capabilities, meant that minority language group pupils were concentrated in classes or groups of which there were low academic expectations. At Midwich, approximately 30 ESOL learners spent all, or a majority, of their school day in classes taught by a full-time, LEA peripatetic, ESOL specialist; an undisclosed number of ethnic minority students were taught in special needs withdrawal groups by the Special Needs Co-ordinator.

The school's first Sixth Form, when it enrolled in September, 1982, was expected to have 800 pupils but a local newspaper report of 22nd June, 1984 stated that only 630 students attended Midwich. The school's brief history of examination results was undistinguished, few pupils entering the Sixth Form, and even fewer studying at Advanced Level. According to the same Loamshire secondary schools public examination results analysis discussed earlier (p. 54), 46.3% of Midwich candidates gained five Ordinary Level passes, and 38.6% gained three Advanced Level passes, at higher grades.

Midwich's attempts to attract more students were unsuccessful and five years after it opened, early in 1984, the school faced closure, culminating in a review by the Secretary of State for Education. In the opinion of Lord Scarman, author of the "Brixton Disorders" report (1981), it remained open mainly because of its "services to multi-ethnic communities" (letter to local newspaper, 21 June, 1984). Parents and governors successfully resisted this closure attempt, many of them joining the later campaigns to prevent Midwich being closed in 1987 and to ensure its retention as the site for Stepford in 1988. The 1987 closure threat was again initiated by a Conservative Councillor member of Midwich's own governing body (contemporary newspaper report, 14.07.1987)

Eastwick then became the focus for rationalisation of Loamtown's surplus secondary school places and, eventually, both Eastwick and Midwich were closed and re-opened as Stepford School and Community College in September, 1988. Committee reports and other formal documents emphasised both former schools' closure, Stepford being described as a new school on the Midwich site.

Eastwick's and Midwich's ethnic compositions prior to their merger are shown in table 4.1. overleaf

Country of origin	EASTWICK	MIDWICH
Bangladesh	8	46
India/Sri Lanka	56	149
East African Commonwealth Countries	5	2
Ghana, Sierra Leone & Nigeria	1	2
Jamaica, Trinidad & Tobago	6	26
Malaysia, Papua New Guinea & Singapore	0	4
Pakistan	9	74
China, Hong Kong & Vietnam	1	4
Other Commonwealth Countries	12	12
Italy	11	7
Other European Countries	12	4
Other countries in which English is not spoken as a main language	2	0
TOTAL (Minority Ethnic Group)	123	330
Total (Number of Students on Roll)	898	529
Percentage (Ethnic Minority Group)	13.7	62.3

Table 4.1 Eastwick and Midwich Schools' ethnic compositions: September, 1987.
(Source: Form D7 Annual Returns of Pupils on Roll - 1988)

4.5 Stepford School and Community College.

On opening, in September, 1988, Stepford had 874 students on roll, 553 less than Eastwick's and Midwich's combined rolls before their merger.

The extent to which Stepford was, in fact a new school, a continuation of Eastwick's and Midwich's "sedimented" (Meyer et al, 1994, p.21) structures and processes or a

perpetuation of the “uniformity of institutional structure” (Meyer et al, 1994, p.23) identified here as “the normal school”(chapter 9), is tested empirically in part 2.

Neither theoretical nor empirical studies of the creation of new schools through school amalgamations or mergers are frequent. Draper (1992) refers to Speed’s (1988) survey of the planning processes of eleven school mergers between 1963 and 1986. All were stressful, mainly because teachers lost status and, regardless of whether their salaries were protected, developed poor self images. Riseborough’s (1985) study of heads’ and teachers’ attitudes and behaviours in the merger of a grammar school and a secondary modern school to create “Phoenix Comprehensive” showed that secondary modern school teachers were made to feel inferior by comparison with their ex-grammar school colleagues. However, Ball’s (1985) study of Casterbridge High’s formation from the merger of two secondary modern schools and a grammar school showed one of the secondary modern school’s staff being appointed to 50% of the new school’s senior posts.

Draper (1992, p.354) observes that, in all these instances, “a new culture had to be established, a new ethos created and a social reality had to be constructed and maintained, but difficulties arose because the participants came from different backgrounds which influenced their perceptions of the situation”. Draper also observes (p. 385) that the identity of the school she studied “could not be a watered down version of one of its contributing schools; it could only be socially constructed from the actions of its participants”.

Nominally, all teaching posts at Stepford were new and teachers from both previous schools were encouraged to apply for any that interested them. Complex negotiations resulted in an apparently amicable "slotting in" process but, by July 1989, thirty staff had

resigned, retired or moved to posts elsewhere. A majority of these were former Eastwick teachers. Local newspapers reported a view that Midwich pastoral staff benefited from the merger at the expense of their Eastwick counterparts whereas more Eastwick subject specialists had been appointed to Head of Faculty posts. This was interpreted as confirming Midwich's "pastoral" and Eastwick's "academic" reputations respectively. In fact, only Eastwick's Heads of Mathematics, Humanities and Performing Arts were confirmed in their posts in Stepford, and Midwich's Heads of Science, Art and Design, and Personal, Social and Physical Education were confirmed in theirs. This left the English and Modern Languages Faculties Heads' posts to be appointed. Given that Eastwick's Heads of English and Modern Foreign Languages both intended to accept early retirement, reasons why Midwich's equivalent faculty heads were not appointed, and why an external candidate was preferred as Head of a combined "Communications" (later "Languages") faculty, remain unclear although empirical research evidence analysed in chapter 8 (pp.329) offers some insights.

There was an "embarrassment of riches" in deputy headteacher terms although neither Eastwick nor Midwich had a woman senior management team member in the year prior to their merger. One of Midwich's year heads, Dora Leebody, was promoted to Deputy Headteacher at Stepford, assuming senior management responsibility for, among other things, multicultural education, Section 11 funding, and incidentally easing a potential glut of year heads.

Surplus senior teachers, particularly from Eastwick, were absorbed into Stepford in a variety of pastoral and support teacher roles as discussed in chapter 8 (pp, 300-301). Stepford's interim management team also created six cross curriculum co-ordinator posts intended to develop a consistent ethos throughout the new school.

The student roll for the second academic year, 1989/90, was expected to be 100 less than in 1988 and, immediately, an equivalent of 17.6 members of staff were earmarked for early retirement, re-deployment or cancellation of their temporary contracts. Accordingly, the Head recommended that the ratio of "responsibility posts" to total staff employed should be revised, Stepford's Faculties being reduced from 7 to 5 (Languages, Mathematics, Humanities, Science & Technology and Expressive Arts) thereby reducing the number of Faculty Heads. Stepford's teaching staff of 77 included 5 additional posts, "4 for Section 11 and 1 for Social Deprivation" funded substantially from central government sources.

As Stepford's second year (1989/90) ended, there were 752 pupils on roll with 134 in the Lower Sixth (Year 12) and 106 in the Upper Sixth (year 13), the latter being the last sixth form cohort to be taught on the Eastwick site. Predicted teaching staff requirements for 1990/91, fell from 68.9 to 58.5 but, although teachers expressed great uncertainty about job security throughout this two year period, staff numbers were not significantly reduced and responsibility allowances were again protected.

The re-designation of faculty heads as members of an extended SMT at the beginning of Stepford's second year, in September, 1989, made headteacher and deputy headteacher roles and their lines of organisational communication with faculties unclear. At the beginning of the 1990/91 school year, a further reorganisation "from faculties to distinct curriculum areas", ostensibly to ensure the best possible subject specialist responses to the National Curriculum, was implemented. But these curriculum area managers were also expected to support and develop cross-curricular activities. The former Multicultural Education Co-ordinator, re-designated as Curriculum Area Manager for Geography, saw himself as one of several senior staff

"with specific briefs to look at cross-curricular issues and therefore they have to get into each of the curriculum areas and see what's going on in their teaching programmes. Otherwise people tend to live in their little watertight bubbles".

These posts were similar to the Cross Curriculum Co-ordinator posts devised by Stepford's interim management team and removed by the new headteacher shortly after his appointment (see p. 241). No-one at Eastwick had designated responsibility for any aspect of antiracist multicultural education. At Midwich, the Head of Science had also been Equal Opportunities Co-ordinator; the Head of Humanities had been Multicultural Education Co-ordinator, and an LEA peripatetic teacher was responsible for ESOL teaching. None of these staff had freedom from subject teaching responsibilities to develop their roles more broadly in relation to antiracist multicultural education.

Eastwick continued as the site for all Sixth Form, post-16 and 'A' Level course activity until April, 1990. Most Stepford teachers taught one or more of these courses, a mini-bus shuttling between the Midwich and Eastwick sites three times each day, and Stepford's headteacher maintaining an office at both sites. The reasons for these arrangements are unclear. The former Midwich premises were sufficient to accommodate all 874 pupils and 71 staff in September, 1988, and there had been ample planning time to ensure that all furniture and equipment needed from the Eastwick site could be relocated there for the start of the new term in September, 1988.

4.6 Schools' relationships with their communities.

Eastwick's catchment area before its merger with Midwich comprised an extensive private housing development built at about the same time as the school. Its almost exclusively White residents included many active members of Loamtown's long-established non-conformist Christian community. Social disadvantage, as indicated by the very few Eastwick pupils qualifying for free school meals, was perceived to be minimal.

Midwich was located within a few hundred yards of one of Loamtown's most desirable, modern, private housing developments which the school's catchment area boundary excluded. In the opposite direction, the catchment area included some of the oldest, terraced properties in the town which had accommodated successive migrant groups, and a gurudwara and a mosque. Social disadvantage was pronounced as the high incidence of free school meals at Midwich indicated.

Neither school seemed to engage pro-actively with their catchment areas' communities. Eastwick relied on its Year Heads to deal with issues of discipline, attendance and incidental concerns about individual pupils, and invited dignitaries from national and local minority groups to address assemblies, but had no strategies for reaching out to and including parents and others in the school's work. During the period when it served most of Loamtown's minority ethnic group students, Eastwick reacted to what it perceived to be African-Caribbean boys' misbehaviour by, firstly, making a male deputy headteacher responsible for links with their parents and other members of their community, and then holding what the headteacher described as "crisis meetings" with them. The need to continue those meetings was obviated by the students' removal to Midwich rather than any resolution of the alleged problem.

At Midwich, Year Heads carried out their duties in much the same way as their Eastwick counterparts. In addition, an unqualified, White, male welfare worker from one of its feeder schools was appointed specifically to address any issues affecting the school's minority group students. The school's Head of English referred to early attempts to publish a school newspaper in community languages and to produce culturally diverse entertainments in the school hall, but these were short-lived. Although it was later proposed at Stepford that class teachers should assume some of the Year Heads' responsibilities, including visiting students' homes, Year Heads' duties continued much as at Eastwick and Midwich, the only exception being that a Community Languages teacher visited those students' homes where no adult members of the family spoke English.

Most persons interviewed felt that Loamshire Education Committee's decision to designate Stepford a "Community College" would positively affect its appeal to parents, and other adults, and make it more effective than Eastwick or Midwich in responding to the needs of learners of all ages associated with it. Although this was consistent with Loamshire LEA's emerging community education developments at that time it did not mean that all Stepford staff necessarily welcomed such developments. Loamshire's Chief Inspector hoped that Stepford would be better staffed as a community college to engage in "outreach work" with "Asian" parents and asserted that the main task for the new school was, "the same as the main task for multicultural and antiracist education, and that is the successful creation of a single community".

Stepford's attempts to reconcile some of these disparate hopes for its future without losing sight of its antecedents, and to develop antiracist multicultural education as part of the provision it offered, are examined in Part 2.

Part 2 Data Presentation & Analysis

Introduction

One of the main aims of research described here was to identify factors positively and negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments as a school improvement strategy at Stepford School. In part 2, I consider the influence of four categories of factors identified from first research phase data analysis as affecting antiracist multicultural education developments. These are

- policy and curriculum development,
- leadership,
- relationships between schools studied and “communities of interest”, and
- individual teacher characteristics.

The relevance of these four categories of factors was confirmed subsequently by Bolam et al (1993) as key factors in the effective management of schools generally. They are discussed in chapters 5 - 8 respectively but they are not mutually exclusive. For example, policy may be penetrated by leadership factors, and community interests may affect teacher attitudes.

Research evidence from the two schools that merged to form Stepford, two Stepford faculties, Science and Languages, and individuals in those faculties, together with data

from three sequential research phases representing what Bolam (1975, p.391) describes as the “process over time” of planned and managed educational change, are analytically compared and contrasted (see figure 3.1, p.95). Stated intentions are contrasted with observed outcomes in relation to each category. Interaction among the four categories of factors’ and their combined contribution to Stepford’s institutional and organisational identity as a “normal” school are examined in chapter 9.

Part 2: Chapter 5. Policy and Curriculum - definitions and purposes of the innovation.

In this chapter, I examine anticipated antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford School and Community College from two main, related perspectives, policy and curriculum. I compare statutes', policies' and administrative guidelines' formally stated intentions with responses to them at different decision making levels and note discrepancies between them. Findings are further discussed and supported by reference to "espoused theories" and "theories in use" (Argyris and Schon, 1974/1978).

5.1. Policy

First research phase data analysis, supported by literature reviewed in the first part of chapter 2 (pp. 8-32) identified policy and its expression through the curriculum as one of the main categories of factors likely to affect antiracist multicultural education developments. At the beginning of each section in the following chapter, examples of data concerned with policy and curriculum from that first research phase are displayed and discussed. In general, informants and observation indicated that the former Eastwick and Midwich Schools' policy and related curriculum statements were an inadequate basis for antiracist multicultural education at Stepford School. Therefore, the main research questions here are about the extent to which Stepford's antiracist and multicultural education policy development provided a more substantial basis for developments than its predecessors'.

5.1.1 Legislation, Administrative Guidelines and LEA Policy

Prior to the Education Reform Act (1988), the Swann Committee report (1985) provided what appeared to be central government legitimization of antiracist multicultural education developments in all LEAs and schools. The Committee's recommendations were consistent with the Race Relations Act (1976) which makes it the duty of LEAs to ensure that their various duties are carried out with due regard to the need to (i) eliminate unlawful racial discrimination; (ii) promote equality of opportunity and (iii) develop good relations between persons of different racial groups. Also Home Office Circular 7/84 required all schools wishing to claim Section 11 funding to have policies and "appropriate" measures in place to ensure that those funds would be used effectively.

However, discrepancies were noted (p.148) between the Race Relations Act (1976) and the Education Reform Act's (1988) "open enrolment" provisions (Hardy and Vieler Porter, 1992, p. 109). The National Curriculum was perceived (Hardy and Vieler-Porter, 1992, p.111) to be detrimental to antiracist multicultural developments in schools, and the National Curriculum Council's rejection of its own Multicultural Education Working Party's Cross-curricular dimensions report was recognised (Gillborn, 1995, p.35) as confirming central government's lack of enthusiasm for these issues .

Central government's ambiguity was reflected in LEA 'race' and cultural diversity policy development, Loamshire being only one among numerous other LEA's delaying publication of their race equality policies until required to do so by the Home Office's Circular 7/84 in order to qualify for Section 11 funding. Troyna (1985) argues that many limited their 'race' equality policy development to publication of their policies with no commitment to action but also recognises that local authorities that made 'race' equality policies and practices central to their administration attracted hostile media attention. However, LEA's such as Loamshire were not uninterested in 'race', cultural diversity and education. For example, Midwich was one of the first schools the Chief Inspector visited soon after his appointment, and felt it was "clear that (LEA) policy, over the years, had had the effect of concentrating a very high percentage of ethnic minority children from the (immediate) area and from (other parts of the town) into the one school".

"Whether this is a deliberate policy in the positive sense of getting children of that type together, or whether it was a kind of negative effect of the other policy - of keeping middle class children from mixing with ethnic minorities, I'm not sure. I suspect it's more the latter".

5.1.2 School Policies

Uncertainties about antiracist multicultural education policy statements at LEA level were also recognised at individual school levels of decision making. Data analysed here indicate differences in policy responses to 'race' and cultural diversity in the three schools studied but Eastwick, Midwich and Stepford were consistent in not publishing plans for their implementation, conveying impressions that it was not genuinely intended in any of those schools. There were also indications that the policies' foci and emphases were affected by a wider range of influences than the schools alone, their purposes being as much "symbolic" (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.178) as functionally intended to provide legitimisation and guidance for antiracist multicultural education's practical expression.

Oswald Spofforth, Eastwick's Deputy Head, had drafted a curriculum policy statement "in a hurry" early in 1987. It included an Equal Opportunities section within which was embedded reference to the importance of "multicultural" education. His headteacher's view, presaging Stepford's first Chair of Governors' perception, was that "Eastwick could have been a wholly Anglo-Saxon, White community and we would have developed these things because there ought to be no distinction between the values of a comprehensive education and the values of a multicultural community".

However, Spofforth had interpreted his headteacher's requirements as being to

"put antiracist multicultural education within the context of equal opportunities and to play it down as much as possible. The policy in the school has been for 'race' not to be an issue. The policy has been not to have a policy".

The same informant observed that, in terms of equal opportunities generally, he was more concerned about “the sort of deal given to white working class families” and saw “class as an issue where we fail more than ‘race’”.

None of Eastwick’s teaching staff knew about the policy; there had been no consultation about it and no subsequent discussion. But Eastwick’s Special Needs teacher, Raymond Neff, was clear that Eastwick’s un-stated “driving philosophy”

“If you asked people to write it down for you - and assuming they were honest - was ranged around a fairly fundamental antagonism towards anything that wasn’t White and middle class. The nearest you’d get in just about all cases would have been that they were assimilationists”.

Midwich’s Head sought guidance from an experienced Loamtown secondary school head whose “Philosophy overall was, ‘This is England; they’ve got to live in England, and we’ve got to prepare them for it’”. Therefore, Richard Gayford, Midwich’s Head, allowed the school’s culturally diverse student population to “speak for itself” without “imposing something theoretical”. He also explained that Midwich had no “overt written (policy) statement” because his staff had been “committed to coming and working in this place (Midwich) and therefore there hasn’t been a conscious need to state aims and objectives”.

One of his Year Heads observed that it was

"The same in almost all aspects of the school, not just in multicultural education. The Head's not a person for committing too much definitely to writing because he believes it binds people too much and doesn't allow a certain amount of personal freedom and choice".

Midwich's Black PE teacher also believed that

"The makeup of the school, the intake of the children, was that that sort of thing was addressed without having to make it a public statement - 'WE HAVE AN ANTIRACIST POLICY'. I think the antiracist thing solves itself".

Councillor Mary Migliardi, Stepford's acting Chair of Governors for the six months before Edward Hamilton was formally elected felt that there was

"no very coherent policy being developed at the centre (SMT) and then being put out to the faculties and departments at Midwich. There was a great deal of goodwill and everyone was vaguely aware of what they should be doing but they weren't really sure of how they should be doing it. There weren't the clear guidelines".

Herbert Flagg, Midwich's Multicultural Education Co-ordinator, like Eastwick's Deputy, felt that teacher "attitudes which were as much classist as ethnically based" were a main concern for Midwich and that "administering the mixture of the two different sets of class" represented by Midwich and Eastwick when they merged would be of more concern than 'race' or cultural diversity issues.

However, Bernard Westcott, Midwich's local County Councillor governor felt confident that Stepford would be able to "experiment" with antiracist multicultural education whereas Midwich could not have done so.

"Midwich was continually being told that our numbers were too low, that we would be bled dry. That was the favourite phrase the Tories used. We always had that threat over us all the while. And I can understand the reluctance of the staff to make any dynamic experiment but that pressure's gone and I'm sure they will actually be able to lead where, before, they were frightened to do so".

At Stepford's governing body's first meeting, in October, 1988, chaired by Councillor Edward Hamilton, governors learned about the recently enacted Education Reform Act including introduction of the National Curriculum (although its phased implementation in secondary schools was not commenced until my fieldwork's later stages). Among other things, governors were to be responsible for ensuring the National Curriculum's implementation. The implications of central government's circular 7/88 concerning "Local Management of Schools" were also discussed. Fears were expressed that formula funding, based very precisely on numbers of students on roll, would adversely affect discretionary levels of staffing and posts of responsibility that both Eastwick and Midwich had enjoyed when Loamshire Education Department managed finance for the LEA as a whole. As Ike Mazzard, a former Eastwick Science teacher observed, anything that was not required by the Education Reform Act but which might affect student enrolments at Stepford, such as antiracist multicultural education, was unlikely to receive enthusiastic support.

Consequently, the ambiguous and frequently contradictory attitudes towards antiracist multicultural education evident in the schools from which Stepford was formed, and the

low-key attention given to public statements about it (Kirp, 1979), continued as the new school struggled to come to terms with the ERA's explicit requirements and its implicit effects.

In late Spring, 1989, Stepford's "Multicultural Policy" was published as appendix 2 of the school's overall curriculum policy statement. It restated briefly central tenets of the Race Relations Act (1976) and listed "Implementation Statements" based on the ILEA Aide Memoire (Woodruffe, 1981) (Appendix 1). Although I brought both of these references to the school's policy working party's attention, Herbert Flagg, the school's Multicultural Education Co-ordinator, felt that my presence at group meetings, even as an observer, might inhibit discussion.

The two page policy, unlike Eastwick's, made reference to both cultural diversity and opposition to racism, and clearly identified the need for all staff to be responsible for "applying the policy to every aspect of the life of the school". Its "curriculum" section was relatively unambiguous stating that it "should aim to create an understanding of and interest in different societies and cultures throughout the world". Thereafter, many of the policy's items were expressed in much less direct terms, references to 'race' being relatively understated.

Items concerning language were hedged around with caveats and riders indicating, for example, that all teachers will be responsible for their students' "linguistic needs [.....] *so far as possible* within the mainstream curriculum" (my emphasis), and that community languages teaching will be offered "where there is sufficient demand". The first item seems to ignore the Commission for Racial Equality's (1986) "Calderdale" ruling that no pupils should be denied access to the mainstream curriculum on grounds of culture or

language, and the second seems to place responsibility for community languages being offered on students and their parents or communities.

The only reference in the policy to monitoring students' developments and achievements occurs in a reference to "organisation" of learning groups which were to be monitored to ensure even distribution between them of "the various ethnic groups" and different "levels of achievement in both internal and external examinations". Loamshire's policy on "positive action for the recruitment of staff from ethnic minorities" was "welcomed" but, as discussed later (p.313), no strategy for recruiting them was devised.

However, Stepford's multicultural education policy statement overall, although separate from the school's main curriculum policy statement, made more direct, full and detailed reference to antiracist multicultural education than Eastwick's policy and Midwich had no policy at all.

Stepford's Languages Faculty Head, Walter Eberhart, a member of the multicultural education policy working party, felt that

"not enough (antiracist multicultural education) lead was given. I think the construction of the policy was done quite well. There was a good cross-section on the working party, including a Governor - although there wasn't, of course, any representation from the community which was a shortcoming, I think.

"The implementation phase has been left very much to permeate as though the fact that the policy exists will necessarily inform and affect the work of the school which I don't think it has, evenly, across the whole school. The reason

for that is that at the implementation stage, the action stage, they didn't really set an agenda and a time scale for implementing the policy".

These are matters addressed in more detail in section 2 concerned with curriculum as an indicator of "theories in use" (Argyris and Schon, 1978). However, only one informant that I asked about it in interview, other than members of the working party, knew about the policy, suggesting a continuation of Eastwick's non-dissemination practices. In 1990, Yvonne Weisgalt, formerly Head of Modern Languages at Midwich, felt that the development of the only two policies of which she was aware, "the Language Policy and the Multicultural Policy", had been the most significant developments at Stepford during its first two years. For her, however,

"There wasn't such a big change between Midwich and Stepford because, so far as the children from minority ethnic group backgrounds were concerned, it was the same in many ways. It was very much a continuation of policies and attitudes. But, so far as my attitudes are concerned, I don't think they've changed".

A year later, several policies promulgated early in Stepford's institutional life had not been monitored or evaluated, planning to ensure their implementation was described by informants as unusual (see below) and, in the case of antiracist multicultural education, neither planning nor implementation had occurred. Walter Eberhart, saw the lack of antiracist multicultural education developments as symptomatic of a general breakdown in policy development and implementation in the school.

"Unfortunately, as the (LEA) inspection will testify, there are problems within the communications and management structure of the school [.....] I think in terms of implementing whole school policies there was a vacuum. A policy is written; it's sent to Governors; it's agreed and, then, that's it. There isn't an action plan associated with it and we've not been good in this school at producing action plans".

Loamshire's inspection team reported that "admirable whole-school policies have recently been agreed for multicultural education and language across the curriculum, each very supportive of the other". And yet, as they also reported, "the school's documentation, as a whole, is curiously anonymous".

Although this suggests an unevenness in policy development strategies generally at Stepford, it is important to note that most policies other than its multicultural education policy were implemented and, as at central government and LEA levels, it was only the antiracist multicultural education policy that was not.

5.1.3 Faculty antiracist multicultural education policy issues

Don Ferrault, Alan Hughes' successor as Science Curriculum Leader and also a member of the working party, described Stepford's multicultural education policy's influence on developments entirely negatively.

"No. No. Not very effective. I know that's the way of all policy documents. It's not actually had any development plan. Without that, I don't think it's going to come together".

The Science teacher and governor, David Markowe, also dismissed school and faculty multicultural education policies as "totally irrelevant", emphasising

"the importance of interpersonal relations regardless of individual differences. I think for different members of staff it means different things and, in that sense, we haven't gelled the idea of 'What it means for me'".

A science teacher, Donna Claybrook, had no knowledge of Stepford's or its Science Department's antiracist multicultural education policy, or their effects on classroom practice.

"I haven't any idea. That's terrible; that's an awful admission. We might think that we do it or we might say we're going to do it but I would say that there's no evidence of it".

Without wider awareness of the policy, and more specific guidance about its practical expression, it is not surprising that faculty level antiracist multicultural education understandings were inconsistent.

Walter Eberhart, Stepford's Head of Languages, felt that he had made his own "positive views about antiracist multicultural education very clear". However, a member of his faculty, Harjinder Kaur, a Community Languages teacher, had no clear perception of differences between antiracist and multicultural education and felt that I had "put her on the spot" by asking such difficult interview questions without warning.

The Faculty's Drama specialist, Frank Roddenbury, contrasted his experience of antiracist multicultural education as an "innovative force" in his University city with his negative Loamtown experiences. Having worked in both Eastwick and Midwich, he recognised it as "something that caused embarrassment" in the former, and "a possible area of friction, something to be played down" in the latter. He had also worked in two Stepford faculties, Languages and Arts (in which Drama as a performing art was located), informing his view that Stepford's policy implementation failure at faculty level stemmed from "a lack of cohesive understanding about whole school developments" by senior management, and "big disagreement about implementation" between faculty heads, even when most individual staff members "were pulling in the same direction". These are matters that are addressed in chapters 6 and 8 concerned with leadership and individual teacher attitudes and behaviour respectively. However, the argument might also be advanced that Stepford's SMT had no wish to implement this particular policy and that, accordingly, it gave minimal guidance to faculty heads about its implementation. This would be consistent with central government's and LEA's "doing good by doing little" (Kirp, 1979) responses to these particularly contentious issues.

It might have been argued, as Midwich's Head had done, that a school as conspicuously multiethnic as Stepford had no need of such a policy. But Stepford needed a policy that would satisfy Home Office Section 11 administrative requirements, even if its purposes were no more than "symbolic" in other respects (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.178).

Whether Stepford's teachers genuinely knew little about the school's multicultural education policy, or were influenced by institutional and community expectations to understate its importance, was unclear but it was evident that it did not affect "the

representational, constitutive and normative rules together with regulatory mechanisms that defined Stepford's common meaning system and gave rise to distinctive actors and action routines". (Scott, 1994, p.68: see figure 2.3 p. 39)

Comparative data analysis in this section also suggests a hierarchy of antiracist multicultural education policy understatement or avoidance from central government, through Loamshire, to the schools studied (Lawton, 1983: see figure 2.4 p.48). If the drawing up of such a policy was unavoidable, it was likely to be "inexplicit" (Kirp, 1979) about 'race' issues, and if it had to be published, no action plan was likely to be formulated for its implementation. Central government's conspicuous reluctance to promote any form of national antiracist multicultural education developments may be contrasted with its specific guidance about the National Curriculum's implementation reinforced by the "technologies of political power" (Foucault, 1979, p.219) of a dominant cultural hegemony excluding all other cultural perspectives. All of this was entirely at odds with the Swann Committee's (1985) recommendations about pluralism in education and in society more generally.

5.2 Curriculum: content, access and achievement

Given Stepford's lack of clear guidelines for its antiracist multicultural education policy's implementation, research questions are begged about its related "theories in use" (Argyris and Schon, 1978) informing practice in key areas of its provision. For example, did Stepford's mainstream curriculum express and represent its communities' cultural and linguistic diversity? Were all students able to access that curriculum equally, and did all students have reasonable opportunities to achieve as well as they might?

In the next three sections, empirical data about curriculum content, access and achievement respectively, are compared as indicators of those “theories in use”. Inconsistencies between written or verbal, formal and informal antiracist multicultural education policies or “espoused theory” (Argyris and Schon, 1978), and evidence of “theories in use” guiding their practical expression, were noted. Discrepancies were also noted in individual interpretations of, and assumptions about, particular policies’ meanings and purposes.

5.2.1. Curriculum content

Prior to the National Curriculum’s implementation, Eastwick’s and Midwich’s headteachers exercised almost complete control over what was - and, by implication, what was not - included in their school’s curriculum. Given that the curriculum may be seen as, among other things, representation and expression of a school’s “meaning system” (Scott, 1994, p.57; see figure 2.3 p. 39) this meant that they were responsible for communicating its meaning to internal and external audiences and for seeking its approval in both instances. Faculty heads in both schools enjoyed a degree of autonomy in terms of what was taught provided it was consistent with both headteachers’ unstated rules about its acceptability, including its cultural acceptability and, as in so many other matters, its public image’s potential sensitivity.

The Race Relations Act (1976) requires public institutions such as schools to do all possible to promote understanding of cultural diversity. The extent to which any of the schools studied achieved this through their curriculum provides a basis for comparative data analysis in the section that follows.

The most obvious curriculum subject difference between Eastwick and Midwich was Eastwick's Advanced Level "double Christianity" syllabus supported by a neighbourhood Baptist Church, evoking Grace's (1995) references to Christianity's continuing importance in the English education system, and Midwich's multi-faith religious education centre of excellence.

Eastwick's Head felt that

"In the late 1970's (when the school had been the most conspicuously multi-ethnic school in Loamtown) we should have made more changes than we did but, on the other hand, we were very conscious at that time that we had to serve a very mixed community. We were wanting to establish the reputation of a comprehensive school in a town in which there are a large number of pupils going to independent schools".

However, Eastwick's Black Science teacher felt that, "Provided there was nothing to interfere with the normal middle class curriculum", parents would have been unlikely to object to multicultural education but this was not borne out by Eastwick parents' comments to Loamshire's Chief Inspector and Eastwick's Deputy Headteacher immediately prior to the merger (see p. 277).

Neither headteacher was a noted curriculum innovator, both setting unstated, but nonetheless recognised, cultural parameters within which their staff's thinking about any curriculum developments were constrained. Analysis of data from the first research phase shows that if those parameters were challenged, they resorted to unusual strategies to maintain the status quo. For example, Midwich's Head of History proposed a multicultural

GCSE syllabus concerned with post-Second World War migration to Britain which prompted her Headteacher to conduct the only parent referendum Midwich ever engaged in, and to use its findings to suppress the initiative whilst not being seen to be opposed to the developments personally. Despite his assertions that multicultural education would be one of Midwich's "natural" characteristics, its headteacher, Richard Gayford, expressed less anxiety about the syllabus itself than about parents' views concerning its cultural content being represented as an Ordinary Level History examination option.

This was also illustrated by Claude Axhelm's experience, who seemed to have demonstrated more commitment to antiracist multicultural education than was considered to be in Midwich's best interests whilst still Midwich's Head of English. He had been responsible for introducing texts from a diverse range of cultural and language backgrounds into his faculty's literature canon, producing multicultural entertainments at Midwich and editing a multilingual journal. Whilst on sabbatical study leave in 1988, he was dispossessed of part of his Department, Drama, and his Head gave him a negative reference when he applied for the equivalent of his own post at Stepford. When I interviewed him, he had effectively disengaged (Lieberman & Miller, 1992, p.49) from any kind of active faculty leadership and expressed ambiguous views (p. 231) about his school's SMT as managers.

Stepford's "Multicultural Policy" made five references to curriculum, including guidance that "curriculum content should take into account diversity of cultural experience" and "expose the dangers of racial and cultural stereotyping". However, on several, separate occasions, governors - as school visitors - noted that bilingual students' needs were inadequately addressed, that the curriculum was monocultural in content and expression, and that some students experienced racism. A Black parent governor, Dale

Coba, criticised the "negative, stereotypical image of Third World poverty" conveyed in a geography lesson he observed taught by the Multicultural Education Co-ordinator, Herbert Flagg, and another parent governor complained that his daughter studying 'A' level English "had not yet met any Black or women writers" (governors' meeting observation notes, May, 1989). Furthermore, as Loamshire LEA inspection team observed, in 1991, "it was not possible to tell from the syllabus and schemes of work that this is a school in which half the children are bilingual.....".

Stepford's Cross-Curriculum Co-ordinator's first report to the school's governing body asserted that "All pupils will have access to a well-planned, well-taught 'WHOLE CURRICULUM' which extends beyond the National Curriculum", but also recognised that "There is a danger that anything which is not underwritten by law will be pushed to the edge - or out altogether".

Alan Hughes, Midwich's Head of Science, had developed multicultural Science curriculum materials but they were dismissed by Jo Marino, Eastwick's Black Biology teacher, when the schools merged in 1988, as "minimal and irrelevant" in their references to Black scientists and their achievements. Hughes also collaborated with Ed' Merrill, Midwich's full-time Section 11 teacher to develop a bilingual teaching and learning professional development programme for Science teachers but this was also dismissed by the school's Multicultural Education Co-ordinator as only "an example of good teaching which could take place anywhere, with any children".

Midwich's former Head of Modern Languages, Yvonne Weisgalt, expressed anxiety about the dilemma experienced by some of her bilingual Asian students who studied French in the Third Year but who had "a lot of pressure put on them by their parents to do

their community language", a rare instance of ethnic minority parents influencing an aspect of their children's schooling. She argued that Stepford's curriculum options system made it impossible for them to study a second European foreign language "which will be far more useful to them career-wise than their own language". This observation was contradicted by Loamshire's inspection team's report which expressed the view that it was "a sad misconception" that none of the students they interviewed saw "much career value in Urdu or Punjabi". The debate exposes an unresolved equality of educational opportunity tension in Stepford's curriculum planning between parents' wishes for their children to learn what they perceived to be their first language and the National Curriculum's requirement that all children should learn a modern European language for career purposes.

I gained more direct and personal insight into students' curriculum experiences in the Autumn, 1989, and Spring, 1990, terms, when I joined the school's SMT in a Loamshire school management course (Hall, 1989) and was required to observe at least two students' curriculum experiences, each for a complete school day. A sixteen year old Black boy that I "shadowed" attended no lessons in which references were made to other than White exemplars and no classroom exhibitions depicted cultures other than White European. My concluding discussion with the boy in a Music classroom was mainly concerned with his disbelief that Black people had been responsible for any important science or arts achievements.

Reflecting on the effects of the National Curriculum's implementation at Stepford three years after its introduction, in 1991, the Multicultural Education Co-ordinator (by then Geography Curriculum Co-ordinator) observed that

"The biggest change that has occurred is the move from distinct faculties to curriculum areas - which is sometimes seen as just the same thing by a different name. But the philosophy is that you're dealing with an area of knowledge rather than a group of subjects and, therefore, you're looking specifically for linkages across with other curriculum areas. So, for example, geographers and scientists looking at the National Curriculum to see where there's considerable overlap that we can share and work out. That's the most important thing I would think. That's a management change".

But research (Chitty, 1992) has shown that links between National Curriculum subject areas have not been common in most secondary schools, and that cross-curricular influences have effectively disappeared, particularly antiracist multicultural education for which no cross curricular guidance was published. As the Science Co-ordinator observed, shortly after his appointment in 1991, antiracist multicultural education development had been

"variable, very much varied by what we've had to do elsewhere. I think I'm right, that there's not yet a National Curriculum document on (multicultural education), like there is for Careers and Health and Environment. We've got so much else to worry about that, if it isn't actually there, we haven't got to do it. It's the old problem of what's important and what's urgent and at the moment 'urgent' is the National Curriculum".

These statements confirm that, whether or not Stepford's Science, Languages - or any other - faculty had tried to develop antiracist multicultural education, it would have been obliged to take account of the National Curriculum's monocultural requirements and

White parents' interests in, and legitimization of, its cultural content and orientations. (see p.183)

Given that Stepford's theories in use (Argyris and Schon, 1978) informing curriculum content inherited from Eastwick and Midwich had been little concerned with cultural diversity, opposition to racism or equality issues, and that Stepford's antiracist multicultural education policy had no guidelines for its implementation, it is not surprising that Loamshire's LEA inspection report noted that its curriculum was "curiously anonymous". The National Curriculum's implementation also served to restate prevailing cultural norms, to discourage additional curriculum development and even further removed individual teachers' responsibilities for responding to ethnic minority students' specific interests and needs. Equality of educational opportunity, therefore, one of the Race Relation Act's other main tenets, was not advanced by developments examined in this section and the section that follows.

5.2.2 Curriculum Access

Empirical data analysis from the first research phase, as shown in examples from Eastwick and Midwich in the first part of each section that follows, indicated that support for ethnic minority pupils' access to their school's mainstream curriculum was variable and that that continued at Eastwick. This second aspect of the schools studied, in terms of indicators of theories in use (Argyris and Schon, 1978) affecting antiracist multicultural education equality issues, may be examined from both organisational systems and individual points of view.

(i) Curriculum Organisation

Organisation for curriculum delivery and student access was similar in Eastwick and Midwich, Eastwick's three ability level streaming, including withdrawal of "least able students" for separate teaching, being effectively the same as Midwich's two ability level plus "special needs" system. Black students were concentrated in special needs and least able groups in both instances.

Midwich's Head observed that, "They (Eastwick) didn't distinguish between the special needs due to intelligence and special needs due to the fact they only got off the boat last week", but Midwich's largely English language focused standardised testing of pupils on admission to the school usually consigned minority language group pupils to classes or groups of which there were low academic expectations.

Three years after their admission, ethnic minority group students who persevered despite Eastwick's elitist academic reputation and practices (pp. 148/149), were faced with a Sixth Form Advanced Level curriculum that, for more than a decade, had catered for White, former independent sector students seeking university entrance. This discouraged many of them, particularly those of West Indian descent, from continuing their education beyond 16, as discussion of their achievement in the third section of this chapter indicates.

As Eastwick's Head recalled, "Some West Indian boys felt that in the society in which they were living, of which this school was a part, they didn't have the opportunities they should have". He disagreed with them but, what evidence there was to draw upon - verbal testimony of Eastwick's Special Needs teachers in the absence of any formal, objective assessment data by ethnicity - supported the boys' claims. (see p.155)

Stepford's Multicultural Education policy stated that "structures for grouping, banding and setting should be such that they avoid inequalities in opportunities" and that all teachers should be responsible for catering for the linguistic needs of all students within the mainstream curriculum.

Given the similarity of Stepford's setting and streaming arrangements for curriculum delivery to those at Eastwick and Midwich, its students' curriculum access and achievement were little different from those of its predecessors. As the Head, Herbert Sunderson, recognised,

"The fact that there's setting only reinforces their perceptions of the lessening of their worth in the overall community of the school. And it's something I want to attend to very rapidly and very radically. It must be a double indemnity to be Black and in the bottom set. Nearly all the bottom set is Black anyway".

But, in 1991, the Science teacher who succeeded his Head of Faculty as Science Curriculum Co-ordinator during the third research phase felt that cultural background, first language and 'race' as issues affecting allocation to learning groups had not been addressed at Stepford and observed that

"with setting and grouping, you're always going to come across very racially unbalanced groups. What kinds of messages do you then transfer to the classes".

In other words, inconsistencies between espoused policies and practices informed by “theory in action” (Argyris and Schon, 1978) were obvious to everyone, including students.

(ii) Curriculum Support: Section 11

It was evident that, prior to the Home Office’s circular 7/84 concerning greater accountability for section 11 funding, Loamshire condoned the misuse of Section 11 teachers at Eastwick, Midwich and, subsequently, Stepford. For example, in order to continue to offer a full range of Advanced Level course options, without enough overall student enrolments to justify or support them, Midwich Section 11 staff were frequently deployed as generalist class teachers, releasing other subject specialists to teach smaller Advanced Level groups. Midwich needed Section 11 funding to continue to subsidise these activities but was unwilling to declare its multicultural identity in public policy terms for fear of deterring White students, perceived as potential Advanced Level students. This dilemma had not been resolved when Midwich merged with Eastwick in September, 1988, but this was only one example of evident discrepancies at both LEA and individual school levels between “espoused theory” in terms of central government policies on ‘race’ and cultural diversity in education and “theory in use” informing institutional practices. It is probable that the LEA understood the “double-bind” dilemma with which Midwich and Stepford were faced. Its officers also needed community and central government legitimisation of their actions in order to manage their affairs on a daily basis and attract resources from central government and other sources in their environment (Meyer and Rowan, 1977).

Most teachers interviewed in the first research phase assumed that Section 11 personnel dealt with all issues of linguistic and cultural diversity affecting curriculum access.

However, it was difficult to see how this was achieved as Section 11 funded teachers were consistently misused at both Eastwick and Midwich. One of Midwich's Year Heads, Wilfred Williams, observed.

"There's the fact that we haven't been using Section 11 staff as they're meant to be used. Staff have got a lot to answer for that, as well as the head, you know. Initially Section 11 was used to make life easier for everybody around the school".

In 1989, the LEA's Section 11 Monitoring Officer, Marge McCormick, perceived that the only teacher in Stepford with "straight forward" Section 11 responsibilities was Ed Merrill, the ESOL specialist, who tried to encourage and support his teaching colleagues in responding to the needs of "a very large chunk of the school population who are bilingual". McCormick doubted that Stepford's "twelve or thirteen" staff with part-time, Section 11 funded support roles actually worked, or worked effectively, in that capacity.

"I appreciate the problem they've got. They looked around at the people they'd got to find jobs for and dolloped a bit of Section 11 on them without actually appointing anybody".

She felt that Stepford's Head, "like a number of heads, wanted to deploy all the staff in his school as he saw fit and it took time to gently persuade him that the Home Office was paying the piper so they could call the tune". At the same time, the Head continually emphasised to governors the school's need for as many Section 11 staff as it could acquire, despite ongoing dispute with the LEA about the deployment of those already in post.

Loamshire's inspection team observed in 1991 that "total withdrawal might have been a preferred option", but that, at the same time, "If needs are to be met and genuine integration is to be achieved, much more (ESOL teaching) support is needed". A summary report presented to the next Governors' meeting paid scant attention to Inspectors' recommendations that there should be "more training opportunities for support teachers", "more time for consultation between support and mainstream teachers" and "more time for the production of support materials". Instead, the report emphasised the Inspectors' conclusion that "Stepford's case for extra Section 11 staff is overwhelming".

This indicated the Head's changed thinking since his first interview with me early in 1989, when he anticipated that all teachers would be responsible for minority ethnic group students' language development.

"The fact that we've put in a bid for six ESOL teachers and the Inspectorate thinks it should be sixteen suggests that we are absolutely spot on in our diagnosis of what the needs of our children are and we need to support our kids with language deprivation, if I can use that term".

(iii) Curriculum Support: Special Needs

Ed Merrill's attempts to persuade all teachers to accept language teaching responsibilities was undermined by Stepford's Special Needs Co-ordinator, Sue Rougemont, who offered separate "withdrawal" tuition for any students, including ESOL learners that subject specialists felt unable to involve fully in their lessons.

Loamshire LEA's inspection report included comments about "English for speakers of other languages" under the heading of "Special Educational Needs", no separate, detailed reference being made to ESOL. This reinforced the Special Educational Needs Co-ordinator's belief that ESOL support was a legitimate area of her responsibilities.

In 1991, Dora Leebody, Stepford's woman deputy, assumed responsibility for an enlarged and undifferentiated "curriculum support" team, no longer described as Special Needs support and including some staff with Section 11 funded responsibilities, which she deployed in response to requests from faculties. This was as much a way of absorbing teaching staff surplus to requirements as the school's student roll declined as it was a strategic response to bilingual learners' needs. Responses to those needs were made by any available members of this team, regardless of experience, qualification or source of funding; much of that support was unrelated to the mainstream curriculum and tensions between the Special Needs Co-ordinator and the ESOL specialist about this continued unresolved after my research ended.

It was not clear that formal organisational structures for addressing ethnic minority students' needs discussed here actually did so as fully and effectively as their organisational prominence suggested they should. Meyer and Rowan (1977, p.340) argue that organisations may adopt certain organisational structures for symbolic purposes, regardless of the problems they need to address, in the interests of increasing their legitimacy with environments on which they depend for survival, in this instance, the Home Office, the LEA and White parents. At Stepford, they may also be seen as serving an "internal" purpose in ensuring continued employment and responsibility allowances for otherwise supernumerary teachers. It was much less clear that what they contributed was consistent with the 1976 Race Relations Act's requirements or school policy statements as

“espoused theories” (Argyris and Schon, 1978) concerning equality of educational opportunity through access to the curriculum.

(iv) “mainstream” teachers

Characteristics of individual teachers affecting their school’s antiracist multicultural education policies and practices are discussed in more detail in chapter 8 but it is appropriate to comment here on their effect on students’ access to the curriculum.

Teachers at Eastwick who showed interest or aptitude in teaching ethnic minority students, particularly those with ESOL learning needs, found increasing numbers of them in their classes. Arrangements were different at Midwich where Ed Merrill, the peripatetic ESOL specialist taught a “beginners” ESOL class almost full time in contradiction of the “Calderdale” (Commission for Racial Equality, 1986) judgement. Special Needs teachers also taught other ESOL learners in mainstream classes or withdrawal groups of students with undifferentiated learning difficulties. In both schools, this enabled subject specialists to concentrate on their “normal” teaching, and other students to concentrate on their “normal” learning without being distracted by ESOL learners. As Marge McCormick observed later about Stepford teachers, “It is a very hard message to get across and I don’t think there are too many teachers that would consider the class in front of them have any language needs”. This was confirmed by my observations of individual teacher behaviour whilst “shadowing” two students (p.185) on behalf of Stepford’s SMT .

When Don Ferrault became Stepford’s Science Curriculum Co-ordinator in 1991, he made it known that he preferred all bilingual students to be taught by members of the Science Faculty: “Perhaps it would improve relationships with the students if they saw

Science as a source of learning support as well as the place they got taught Science". He was one of the few Stepford teachers to volunteer for support work in Dora Leeboddy's (Special Needs) curriculum support team (see p.193) but it was not evident that any of his other Science or Languages Faculty colleagues made a similar response.

Although data analysed in this section suggests a response by some teachers and one faculty to ethnic minority students' specific learning needs, it generally demonstrates that, inconsistent with Stepford's espoused theories in these respects,

- their organisational structures were inadequate for promoting ('race') equality of educational opportunity;
- that most individual teachers were unwilling and poorly prepared to address ethnic minority, particularly developing bilingual, students' needs;
- Section 11 teachers and the funding their posts represented were misused, and that
- ethnic minority students' specific learning needs was confused with more generalised special educational needs.

It was also noted that work with ethnic minority students was not regarded as "normal" teaching and that those who engaged in it tended to become marginalised. In these respects, there was little change or development at Stepford in what had been observed at its predecessor schools.

5.2.3 Achievement

Analysis of mainly quantitative empirical research data about ethnic minority students' examination achievements analysed in this section indicates an almost complete "decoupling" (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.178) between "espoused theories" (Argyris and Schon, 1978) concerning equality of educational opportunity, treatment and outcome (Williams, 1989), and practices informed by "theories in use".

GCE Ordinary Level and Advanced Level public examination results discussed in chapter 4 (p.154) as a disputed indication of Eastwick's and Midwich's different academic expectations and achievements were all that were available to me until their merger. Consequently, no quantitative data about students' achievements by ethnic group, class and gender were available in either of those schools, or in Stepford until the year that my fieldwork ended. The Black parent governor, Dale Coba, was determined to have 'race' equality issues, particularly "the progress of the Afro-Caribbean child" discussed by Stepford's governing body "from the outset" (Governors' Meetings Minutes, October, 1988) but minutes of the subsequent governors' meeting indicate that, although tables were produced showing the first language and ethnic origins of all current ethnic minority students, no information about past groups' examination achievements was available and there was no comparable reference to White students.

In May, 1989, information for governors about Stepford's summer examination entries comprised a list of candidates showing total subject entries at the still operative Eastwick site as 2,315, confirming its reputation for academic excellence, and 928 at Midwich. In 1990, GCSE and A level examination results were poor and governors were told by Stepford's headteacher at their Autumn, 1990, meeting that "Years 11 and 13 were

the two cohorts so badly decimated upon entry to Stepford two years ago; we lost a whole phalanx of students to other schools, many of whom were very able". This refers to students from the former Eastwick's catchment area who did not join the school at the time of the merger and suggests that Stepford's, like Eastwick's, examination achievements depended as much on its student's social background as the quality and relevance of the teaching it provided.

Examination results for 1990 were still not differentiated by ethnic group, and systematic procedures for monitoring and evaluating minority ethnic group and bilingual students' academic progress, even as loosely specified in Stepford's multicultural education policy statement, had still not been developed. Consequently, the school was unable to answer the Black parent governor's questions about Black students' achievements.

The 1991 Summer Examinations, therefore, were the first for which quantitative data about Stepford's minority ethnic group pupils' achievements were published using "Schools Information Management System" (SIMS) computer software. It confirmed expectations about inequalities of educational "outcomes" (Williams, 1989) for certain groups of students, notably ethnic minority students. An "Equal Opportunities Policy" report to governors (30th September, 1991) analysed results of Year 11 (effectively GCSE) and Year 13 (effectively Advanced Level) examinations taken earlier in the year.

Year 11 GCSE results expressed as percentages of all Stepford pupils entered, differentiated by gender, were as shown in table 5.1.

sex	%	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	U	X
M	100	7.1	12.9	10.5	16.1	16.6	16.6	11.6	3.9	4.5
F	100	10.5	12.8	20.0	16.8	14.1	12.1	7.9	3.5	2.3
All	100	9.0	12.8	15.8	16.5	15.2	14.1	9.6	3.7	3.3

Table 5.1 : Stepford's 1991 Year 11 GCSE Examination results differentiated by gender.

This table indicated that, consistent with national trends, Stepford's female students performed better than males at this level.

Other presentations of this kind, such as table 5.2 overleaf, showed results differentiated by ethnic group but recommended Home Office ethnic group classifications were not used consistently, and whilst some groups of Indian sub-continent origin were specifically identified, others were not. Consequently, only broad comparisons in terms of 'race' were possible but students' first languages or English language competencies, the basis for allocating Section 11 staff, were not identified.

A - C grade passes			A - G grade passes		
Results	(%)	Rank order	Results	(%)	Rank order
All	37.6			91.4	
Black	38.2	(2)		97.5	(1)
Bangladeshi	13.6	(5)		86.4	(5)
Indian	34.4	(3)		94.8	(3)
Pakistani	29.4	(4)		95.1	(2)
White	45.3	(1)		93.7	(4)

Table 5.2: Stepford's 1991 Year 11 GCSE Examination results differentiated by 'race' (figures in parentheses indicate different groups' rank order achievements).

The report's author observes that "Whites as expected are achieving the highest number of A - C grades but are doing less well in achieving overall passes (ranked 4th in terms of A - G grades). White students' "class origins" were cited in explanation of these "extremes". It was noted that the majority of those achieving the highest number of A - C grades resided in the former Eastwick catchment area, again reinforcing impressions at Stepford that its academic future, even its future as a school, depended on recruitment of students from that area.

Similar national comparative studies (Nuttall, 1987/ Drew & Gray, 1990) indicated that "Indian" students achieved similar results to "Whites" (except in English examinations) but the report stated that this was not the case at Stepford and social class was again cited as the reason for low Asian student achievements. However, Indian students who had undoubtedly achieved well in other parts of England were not necessarily of professional, middle class background either. Comparison of these remarks with those of Eastwick's

Deputy and Stepford's first Multicultural Education Co-ordinator's observations (pp. 170/172) about their school's failure to respond to working class students' needs, and with a tendency to subsume 'race' issues in references to class, and lose them (Kirp, 1979), were pertinent to discussion here.

Conversely, "Black" students' rank achievement levels were higher at Stepford than indicated in national comparative studies (Nuttall, 1987/ Drew & Gray, 1990). "Does this suggest that Stepford has succeeded in creating a 'Black-friendly' environment?" the report asked but the phenomenon was probably explained by the very small number of Black students believed to be sufficiently well motivated to be entered for the examinations.

Pakistani and Bangladeshi students figured least well in the A - C results and, in this instance, their relatively low levels of achievement are attributed to their existing social and former academic backgrounds and to their English language competency. The report is unclear, however, about whether Stepford might have supported the students better. This could only have been answered by reference to more detailed ESOL learning records of a kind not kept at Stepford. It was evident from data analysed in the previous section, however, that available Section 11 ESOL support was directed at early stages ESOL learners and not at examination groups. Indeed, the relative failure of Bangladeshi students is attributed to their entry for examinations for which they were "ill-equipped in terms of language". Given the importance of GCSE results for post-16 educational opportunities, different kinds of Section 11 staff targeting might have been suggested by this finding, but they were not.

The report also compares "ethnic female" results analytically with all female results, and with their male counterparts, and describes the outcomes as "particularly pleasing".

One anomaly, however, was that Pakistani females' A - C results were lower than those registered for the group as a whole; another was "a fairly large number of Bangladeshi and Indian girls not obtaining a pass grade at GCSE level". Conversely, Pakistani males outperformed all other groups (11.9%) in A grade passes. No reference was made to any group's religious and cultural conventions as possible reasons for these outcomes. It was argued by at least one member of Stepford's teaching staff, however, that Stepford's "traditionalist" Urdu teacher's influence, in his Community Liaison role, on Muslim girls' achievements (see p.309) was unhelpful.

Analysis of Year 13 'A' level results from examinations held at the end of the previous term (table 5.3, p.201) offered immediate comparisons between the sexes at 'A' level and, by reference to table 5.1 (p. 197), between all students differentiated by gender at both GCSE and 'A' levels;

Sex	A	B	C	D	E	N	U	X
Male	9.9	14.6	17.2	19.8	15.6	13.5	8.3	0.9
Female	11.9	13.6	12.7	12.7	19.7	10.2	19.5	-
All	10.6	14.2	15.5	17.1	17.1	12.3	12.6	0.3

Table 5.3: Stepford's 1991 Year 13 - 'A' Level Examination results differentiated by gender

Table 5.3 shows the GCSE trend reversed, males gaining higher overall results than females and the report suggests that "as a school, (Stepford) needs to concentrate on improving female self-esteem". A further table, not shown here, compares ethnic minority female students 'A' level results with all female 'A' Level results and a 7.9% "deficit" difference is noted in the overall achievement of Asian, by comparison with White, groups.

In this instance, the “relative home situations” of White and Asian females is reported as probably being responsible for this difference.

However, data for 'A' level achievements differentiated by ethnic group (table 5.4) were relatively unsatisfactory for comparative analysis purposes because no Black candidates were entered for examinations at that level at Stepford in 1991. Also, figures for the few candidates of Indian sub-continent origin, separately identified in table 5.2 for GCSE purposes, were generically referred to as "Asian" in table 5.4.

Ethnic Group	%	Entry Total	A	B	C	D	E	N	U	X
All	100	(310)	10.6	14.2	15.5	17.1	17.1	12.3	12.6	0.3
Asian	100	(25)	20.0	12.0	12.0	8.0	20.0	12.0	16.0	0.0
White	100	(273)	9.9	14.3	15.8	17.9	16.5	12.5	12.5	0.4

Table 5.4: Stepford's 1991 Year 13 A level Examination results for all candidates differentiated by 'race'.

The relatively low numerical representation of Asian candidates of any kind at this level is attributed, uncharacteristically in terms of other data analysed here, to ethnic minority group students' experiences in “a school dominated by White teachers, a Sixth Form dominated by White students and a White dominated wider society”.

Given the lack of statistical validity in comparing Year 11 GCSE and Year 13 'A' Level results, the author asked only generalised questions about “ethnic minorities in the Sixth Form” but suggests that Stepford ought to be achieving “the same kind of 50/50,

White/Black (ethnic minority) balance in the Sixth Form" that existed in the rest of Stepford at that time.

The report does not refer to Black or Asian students entering the Sixth Form to re-sit GCSE examinations, and their results are not shown as Sixth Form candidates in Year 11 GCSE results. Some other "Asian" students, particularly Bangladeshis, enrolled for one-year Sixth Form studies, mainly a Royal Society of Arts "basic skills" course, are not shown in these results. Indeed, this Sixth Form underclass of ethnic minority students was all too reminiscent of Midwich's Black City and Guilds course group taught and described by Raymond Neff (p.155).

Questions might also be asked about the "extremes" of achievement by "Asian" students. It is arguable that outcomes were even more influenced by English language competency at Advanced than at GCSE level. There was no evidence that the school had any strategy for supporting ESOL development of students assumed to have progressed beyond a post-basic level of ESOL competency within curriculum subject areas.

The report's final table showed the "composition of Year 13 'A' level classes for 1991/92" differentiated only by gender. An obvious conclusion was that males tended to outnumber females in Science, Technology and Mathematics related studies, and girls outnumbered boys in languages and language related studies. Figures for 'A' level Business Studies indicated slightly higher numbers of females than males opting for this subject.

Summarising his analysis of Year 13 'A' level results, the author asked

"Why are females gaining fewer passes at 'A' level? [...] Are male candidates meeting their potential? Why are the numbers of students from ethnic minorities taking 'A' level examinations so low when compared to the numbers in the school as a whole? [...] Why is there such a vast difference in the performance of Asian males and females at 'A' level? Can the school do anything to improve the performance of Asian females in particular?"

Although some of the GCSE and Advanced level examination achievement data analysed here offer an insufficiently detailed or precise basis for thorough examination of issues raised, they clearly indicate that certain minority ethnic group students performed less well than others, particularly their majority White peers. However, the more important observation is that 1991 was the first year in which any attempt had been made by Stepford or its predecessor schools to analyse examination achievement data for different ethnic groups. Therefore, they did not inform planning decisions about curriculum content and delivery (including the deployment of Section 11 staff). Neither the LEA's inspection team nor its Section 11 Monitoring Officer drew attention to these issues but they suggest a discrepancy between espoused "equality of educational opportunity" theory (Argyris and Schon, 1978) at Stepford its theories in use.

The report's commentary on statistical data makes very imprecise distinctions between students' ethnic origins, cultural backgrounds or linguistic heritages. Nonetheless, ethnic minority students were identified as problems for Stepford, rather than the school's cultural norms and educational practices, or teachers attitudes towards their students and their learning needs, being identified as problems for the students.

5.2.4 Racism affecting educational opportunity, access and achievement

Loamshire LEA's inspection report suggested that some Stepford students' experiences of racism, in and out of school, might have affected their ability to take full advantage of the educational opportunities provided.

"There was definite view that teachers did not always respect pupils' feelings or their contributions to lessons. The first task, they felt, was to develop a code of behaviour based on fairness and mutual trust. [...] The girls felt that not enough was done to tackle the roots of racism, as opposed to the symptoms. They believed that most teachers were unaware of the undercurrent of racist language which goes on daily and the intolerance towards pupils who struggle with English".

Also, in June, 1989, a visiting governor "shadowed" a Black Sixth Former who was "happy at Stepford" but was "somewhat concerned at the way in which the Eastwick/Midwich divide had not disappeared at Sixth Form level, with one incident clearly involving racism which worried him". These may be the kinds of experiences alluded to by Stepford's 1991 examinations report (see pp, 201-202) as affecting ethnic minority students' access to the curriculum and their achievements. Several studies (Gillborn, 1990 / Mac an Ghaill, 1988 / Wright, 1986) have identified racism as a factor adversely affecting minority ethnic group students' curriculum access and it may be assumed that it is a "normal", although unacceptable, feature of many multi-ethnic schools, but no teachers interviewed at Stepford indicated that this was a factor affecting either curriculum access or achievement.

Comparative data analysis at different structural levels, and triangulation of findings between and within them, indicated a powerful and negative hegemonic influence on antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford, including antiracist multicultural education policy development, which unobtrusively obscured and obstructed its practical expression. In particular, resistance to any form of antiracist education was noted.

"The substance of the innovation" (Bolam, 1975), antiracist multicultural education as a school improvement strategy, was inexplicitly (Kirp, 1979) and ambiguously defined and addressed at different policy development and implementation levels. There were evident inconsistencies between different central government policies concerning 'race' and cultural diversity in different policy areas, and there was loose coupling (Weick, 1976) between those policies and the action they were intended to inform. This was also reflected in Loamshire LEA's formal and informal positions, and policies and actions, in relation to antiracist multicultural education. The uncertainties to which this testified could be attributed to the perceived need for both levels of administration to gain different kinds of political constituencies' social, cultural and educational legitimization of their policies, and to the fact of racism as an influence affecting those constituencies views.

Discrepancies were also noted between the schools' "espoused theories" in relation to issues of 'race' and cultural diversity and their theories in use (Argyris and Schon, 1978), none of the schools preparing development plans for their stated or unstated antiracist multicultural education policies' implementation. Home Office and the DFEE (DES) Section 11 administrative and accountability measures required Stepford to have 'race'

equality organisational structures and practices in place, including policies, if it wished to secure their legitimation and related resources but Stepford's responses in those terms were seen to be as "symbolic" (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.178) as they had been at Midwich, and no more than "facades" (Smith and Keith, 1971) or "false fronts" (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978, p. 197-200),

Headteachers were seen as the curriculum's cultural "gatekeepers" (Grace, 1995) until the National Curriculum was implemented, whereupon they became responsible for transmission of its imposed monoculturalism. References to combined 'race', culture and equality issues were relatively rare in any of the schools studied. They were usually identified as problems to be addressed separately or ignored altogether rather than essential, related aspects of Stepford's overall organisational development. In all these respects, Stepford's approach to antiracist multicultural education development was little different from its predecessors being a "transplanted objectification" (Berger and Luckman, 1967/ Meyer et al, 1994, p.21) of those former school's policies and practices. In this respect, it did not live up to its promise as a "new" school in attempting to establish significantly different policy and related curriculum development processes from Eastwick's and Midwich's as a basis for antiracist multicultural education developments.

Organisational structures to assist ethnic minority students' curriculum access were also perceived to serve other purposes, such as absorbing teaching staff otherwise surplus to requirements, and this detracted from their effectiveness. Ethnic minority group students' achievements, as indicated by public examination results, testified to these arrangements' ineffectiveness in terms of equality of educational outcomes.

The concepts most clearly emerging (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.37) from this chapter's empirical data analysis and related discussion, therefore, concern discrepancies and inconsistencies between policy and action in relation to antiracist multicultural education developments, and between Stepford's formal antiracist multicultural education structures and procedures, and their intended effects. References to substantive theory (Argyris and Schon, 1974/1978/ Weick, 1976) reinforced perceptions that these discrepancies were not at all unusual, indeed were entirely "normal" characteristics of most organisations, including schools.

A developmental process could be recognised, however, from Eastwick's infrequent and informal attention to 'race' and cultural diversity, and Midwich's assumptions that they would take care of themselves given the school's multiethnic characteristics, to Stepford's need to have formal structures and processes in place to satisfy external scrutiny. This entailed increasing overtness in the schools' recognition of their multiethnic character, consistent policy documentation and organisational structures and practices to convey impressions that 'race' and cultural diversity issues were being addressed. All of this began to assume the form and dimensions of an alternative, back-stage policy framework, and related structures and procedures, to which reference could be made if Stepford's antiracist multicultural education commitments were questioned.

None of this offered an optimistic basis for Stepford's antiracist multicultural education leadership, the second category of factors identified by empirical data analysis as affecting developments at Stepford, as discussed in chapter 6 that follows.

In this chapter, I compare and analyse empirical research data concerning leadership as a category of factors affecting antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford School and Community College. I compare the stated intentions of nominal and potential leaders as potential antiracist multicultural education change agents with their observed actions at several different levels of influence. Few of the leaders identified contributed positively to what Bolam describes (1975) as the change agent system, concerned here with antiracist multicultural education developments. Most exercised discretion (Young, 1981/1983) as rational actors (Scott, 1994, p.76) to evade direct, personal responsibility for developments perceived to be morally and educationally necessary but contrary to the best long term interests on their schools and their own careers. A reliance on specially created organisational structures without reference to related leadership as a means of effecting antiracist multicultural education developments is identified and discussed.

Introduction

Data gathered from interviews with Eastwick and Midwich staff in the first research phase and analysed in the first part of all but the first section here revealed leadership as one of the main categories of factors likely to influence antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford School and Community College. It was perceived to be directly linked with antiracist multicultural education policy issues discussed in the preceding chapter and some cross referencing with “communities of interest” discussed in chapter 7 is necessary given the LEA’s and school governors’ potential “community ” leadership roles. The influence of different kinds of leadership, internal and external (Huberman & Miles, 1984) to their school, on teachers' assessments of antiracist multicultural education’s importance suggested that cross-referencing with chapter 8 concerned with individual teacher characteristics would also be informative.

6.1 Leadership external to the Schools.

6.1.1 Central Government Leadership.

The Conservative government’s position regarding antiracist multicultural education, has already been discussed (chapter 2, pp 20/21/chapter 4, pp.147-148 and chapter 5, p.168/169) but it is important to note that literature reviewed in chapter 2 did not indicate central government’s overt opposition. More precisely, government’s measures to redefine and restructure society on its own terms took no account of Britain as a multicultural society (Hardy and Vieler-Porter, 1992, p.102). Stepford's Head of Science, for example, felt that antiracist multicultural education would probably be "buried" by the National Curriculum, among other ERA measures.

Local groups representative of national teacher organisations, such as teacher unions and professional associations, and equal opportunities organisations such as the Commission for Racial Equality and its local Race Equality Council, were inconspicuous as influences on antiracist multicultural education throughout the period of my research. However, local and institutional leadership could have been provided from several different sources such as the LEA, elected local government and community representatives (including parents), school governors, headteachers and their SMTs, and senior and other teachers, some of whom had special responsibilities for aspects of antiracist multicultural education. These leadership possibilities are the main subject of discussion that follows.

6.1.2 Loamshire - The Local Education Authority

A distinction needs to be made at this point between Loamshire LEA's potential antiracist multicultural education leadership and development role in relation to Stepford School and Community College and its other related management and administration functions for central government (pp. 260-267). At the beginning of my fieldwork, in 1988, Loamshire LEA still had considerable influence on local state schools, including opportunities to promote and support school-based developments, such as antiracist multicultural education, through its policy declarations (1983 and 1986) and schools advisory services. These developmental opportunities technically available to the LEA were rarely exercised in relation to antiracist multicultural education. The LEA also had Section 11 administrative and regulatory functions discussed in the previous chapter (pp. 190-192) and in the chapter that follows (pp. 263-266), and through school inspections (pp. 262-264). Where Loamshire LEA exercised a management role with schools in, for example, assisting in the appointment of headteachers (p. 260), its actions were usually

seen to be concerned to preserve the established cultural status quo and, in most matters, was concerned to maintain an equilibrium of working relationships in its own organisational field (Scott, 1994, p.57). Its only conspicuous developmental initiative, the Community Forum concept discussed later (pp.280/282) was short lived partly because it threatened those working relationships with schools.

On the only reported occasion on which an LEA Adviser suggested improvements in Eastwick's provision for ethnic minority students, his advice was ignored. As the Head, Samuel Smart, recalled, "We were given the impression that we ought to be distinguishing rather more between different cultural groups of students, more positive discrimination, for example, and we tended to react against that". The schools, therefore, had little contact with LEA inspectors and advisers concerning antiracist multicultural education. Eastwick's Special Needs teacher described Loamshire's advisers as "grossly negligent" in this respect and recounted a visit by one of them to his class shortly after it had gained a substantial number of Black students.

"He sat in my fifth year (year 11) classroom at the back for about twenty minutes looking quite haunted and then left. And that was that, We never saw him again".

Alan Hughes, Midwich's and Stepford's Head of Science would not have been averse to his LEA subject adviser's "bribery and corruption" if he had paid for culturally diverse Science resources but "multicultural ideas have not been in the forefront of his mind. When we meet, the subject never arises".

It was a significant departure from normal practice, therefore, when I was asked by Stepford, in February 1989, as one of Loamshire's antiracist multicultural education specialists, to facilitate the school's professional development response to new Home Office Section 11 administrative guidelines requiring it to develop policies and practices supportive of Section 11 teachers' activities. Some kind of multicultural education training initiative was a Home Office requirement of any school seeking Section 11 funding but my involvement made it unnecessary for any of Stepford's staff to be implicated in delivering it, and its "consciousness raising" purposes were clearly not intended to change existing values or operational priorities. Furthermore, if "anything went wrong", as one of Midwich's governors, Jim Burke, expressed it, Stepford could not be held responsible.

All of this was entirely consistent with Argyris' (1992, p.103) concept of an "organisational defensive routine" but it also served to create an impression (Goffman, 1959/ Smith & Keith, 1971, p.402) for certain audiences and for specific purposes that Stepford was a school committed to antiracist multicultural education. Indeed, as Miles and Huberman (1984, p.48) observe it is not surprising to discover that nominal change agents are themselves ambiguous about change for which they are responsible. Schon (1971) also recognises that great effort, including pretence of change, may be expended in trying to preserve the status quo. From Stepford's SMT's and Loamshire LEA's perspectives, however, appropriate staff development as required for the school to qualify for Home Office Section 11 funding had been implemented.

The best opportunity for Loamshire LEA to effect antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford fell to Gordon Zellaby, Loamshire's Chief Inspector, as its acting Headteacher for six months before it opened in September, 1988. Together with Councillor Mary Migliardi, as acting Chair of Governors, he was responsible for appointing Herbert

Sunderson as Stepford's new Head. Although Zellaby's influence was brief and, as he described it himself, "understated", his reference to his own "vision" of Stepford as a multiethnic community college left no doubt about his hopes for the school; "the main task for the new school is the same really as the main task for multicultural and antiracist education, and that is the successful creation of a single community".

"I have a vision of a community college which is a centre for dropping in for sport, for social, for recreational, for academic, for educational, for developmental purposes. And that people will meet each other and will discover that they are the same under the skin, whatever the colour of that skin [.....]. That they have similar aspirations for themselves and for their children, and that they can grow and learn from each other".

He added that "under the leadership of a man with the vision of Herbert Sunderson - and there's no doubt he's a very inspired leader - that this new community college could be a profound influence on the development of that community".

In the examples cited here, it was evident that Loamshire LEA was unable to give full or effective expression to its potential for antiracist multicultural education leadership at Stepford through its advisers or through training. If the LEA wished to retain any kind of working relationship with schools, it could not insist that they engaged in developments, however authoritatively required, that the communities they served would not legitimate as consistent with their assumptions about the cultural characteristics of schools. The Chief Inspector clearly felt, however, that by appointing Herbert Sunderson to develop, among other things, community education, some antiracist multicultural education might occur.

Again, a distinction needs to be drawn between governors' leadership roles at Stepford and their other interests in the school. Furthermore, during the period of my field research, before school governors roles and responsibilities as identified in the Education Reform Act (1988) had been tested in law, it was unclear whether they acted as community representatives or as loosely-coupled (Weick, 1976) institutional members. I discuss their leadership roles here as if they performed both an internal "board of directors" and an external, community representative role. In fact, neither their leadership in, nor their influence on, any aspect of Stepford's development was as pronounced as the ERA (1988) legislation intended.

All but Bernard Westcott, Midwich's local Councillor (who was then terminally ill), of those interviewed as Eastwick or Midwich governors in 1988, were re-elected to serve on Stepford's Governing Body. A new County Councillor Chair of Governors, Edward Hamilton; an Asian Borough Councillor and ex-Chair of Midwich's governing body, Shaukut Osman, and the co-opted Black Parent Governor, Dale Coba, were further or higher education teachers and all had children at Stepford (see table 3.2, p.106). The school's Multicultural Education Co-ordinator, Herbert Flagg, and the Science teacher/Information Technology Co-ordinator, David Markowe, were Staff Governors (see table 3.3, p. 107). Consistent with Deem et al's (1992, p.217) findings, Stepford's Governing Body's social composition was "far from representative, either of the population as a whole or of the school". Of the new, 18 strong Stepford governing body elected in 1988, only four were women, two were Asian and one was Black. Their political, and some of their other, affiliations are discussed later (pp. 255-260) as "communities of interest".

Reference is made here to interview data (although no Conservative Councillor governors agreed to be interviewed), documentary evidence from sequential governors' meetings comprising historical and ostensibly neutral records of Stepford's first two years, and my own governors' meetings observation notes. Formal minutes of those meetings required some "reading between the lines" and frequently differed from my own records. This was demonstrated, at the first governors' meeting in 1989, by the Black parent governor's request (p.196) for information about Black students' examination achievements. It became clear later that the school did not collect that information, but lists of students and their ethnic origins were produced together with a request from the headteacher that the LEA should recruit more Black teachers. No more was heard about Black students' achievements until 1991, when the school used information technology for the first time to collect public examination results data for all students.

Governors tended to exercise political and social, rather than specifically educational influence on all three schools. However, a Liberal Councillor Mary Migliardi, formerly a primary school teacher in Midwich's multiethnic catchment area, became Stepford's acting Chair of Governors until Edward Hamilton was elected. She had been Chair of Governors at another Loamtown comprehensive school since 1981 and had also recently become an Eastwick governor. It was evident that she saw her role as entailing leadership, and adopted an interventionist and developmental approach towards schools with which she was involved. At Eastwick, she had met with resistance from the headteacher and his staff when attempting to have Special Needs support provided in mainstream classrooms, rather than in "The Nest" (see p. 155). "I think they saw the multicultural and antiracist side all tied in with a package we were trying to force on them which was a proper comprehensive education, an entitlement curriculum for all pupils across the ability range".

At Stepford, together with the Chief Inspector as acting headteacher, she also tried to provide leadership for antiracist multicultural education developments by appointing a number of Eastwick and Midwich teachers as cross curriculum co-ordinators. (see p. 240/241) "Staff were specifically appointed within faculties to develop the multicultural aspect of that part of the curriculum, and were also given clear direction to work with their colleagues in other faculties to then develop a whole school approach". Thus, she felt that she had done "all that was possible to ensure that the structures were right" to enable Stepford to develop as a school committed to and practising antiracist multicultural education. She also referred to the importance of, not only "what was done", but "how it was done" and cited the former Asian Chair of Midwich's Governors', Shaukat Osman's, "undiplomatic" attempts to introduce antiracist education into the school.

Stepford's full governing body meetings occurred termly (six times during the second and main, two-year research phase) but its financial, personnel and curriculum sub-groups met more frequently. The Head's nominees as sub-committee chairpersons (his Deputies) influenced governors more easily in those small groups than in full governing body meetings, no significant dissent from the deputies recommendations ever being expressed.

Deem et al (1992, p.215) observe that

"Reshaping governing bodies", (as required by the Education Act (1986), "is ostensibly supposed to be about transferring power from educational producers to educational consumers and about making schools more accountable to those who pay for and use them [.....]. Of course, it does not work as neatly as that".

I noted that minority ethnic group governors' attendance at meetings was adversely affected by their work's un-social hours and, sometimes, distant location.

In May, 1989, Stepford's first statutory "Governors' Annual Report to Parents" was made; only one Black parent attended. My field notes indicate that the Headteacher held the floor throughout and pre-empted his Deputies' and most Governors' attempts to answer parents' questions. For example, a parent asked why a rural upper school was over-subscribed at a time when Stepford was evidently under-subscribed. A White, Liberal, male, Councillor governor, formerly an Eastwick governor, identified "the problem" as one of 'race' but the Head and his Chair of Governors, Edward Hamilton, hastened to reassure the parent that "the most important thing was for the school to continue to perform well and to market the results".

Several governor informants' regarded central government's circular 7/88 concerning Local Management of Schools as mainly responsible for Stepford's uncertainty about its organisational identity. The circular emphasised Governors' and Headteachers' shared responsibilities for their institution's viability in no uncertain financial terms. As a Science teacher observed, "racist attitudes towards Stepford as a multiethnic school would affect the number of bums on seats" and, thereby, the pupil-related finance to which the school would be entitled. This, in turn, would affect teachers' job security and salary enhancements. Consequently, governors' minds were focused on survival rather than developmental issues.

At the same meeting, Governors also learned about introduction of the National Curriculum, and there was animated discussion about its negative implications for the kind of curriculum that governors assumed was offered at Stepford, although its phased

implementation in secondary schools was not commenced until my fieldwork's later stages. Some governors visited Stepford periodically to observe the school - effectively its curriculum - in action, their individual reports to the governing body being simply "noted", their cumulative critique never being recognised as such. For example, in addition to his questions about Black students' achievements, the Black Governor, Dale Coba, observed a Geography lesson taught by Stepford's Multicultural education Co-ordinator and reported his concern about the negative, "Third World" images presented. Another governor spoke intensively with one Black Sixth Former early in 1991 and was "disappointed" to discover negative relationships between Eastwick and Midwich students, "some involving racism", and yet another described his daughter's Advanced Level English Literature studies in which "she had still to meet any Black or female authors".

All of this serves to illustrate the lack of direct or effective, general or antiracist multicultural education, leadership Stepford's governors were able to exercise.

Bernard Westcott summed up governors' influence in his observation that "many of us are not educationalists. We would formally agree with the Head and his staff what they were going to do but, to be honest, much of it was agreed in advance and we rubber-stamped it".

6.2 School-based Leadership

Lieberman and Miller (1992) argue that the high school principal (secondary school headteacher) can make or break any improvement effort and the Swann Committee (1985, p.353) stated that "the support and commitment of the headteacher is essential if positive progress is to be made" in developing antiracist multicultural education in schools.

Leadership is seen here to be crucially concerned with what Bolam (1975) described as the "change agent system", expectations being expressed by several individuals interviewed

that leaders (usually meaning their schools' senior management teams) would be capable and willing managers of change. The main analytical foci in this chapter, therefore, are on leadership to effect change by contrast with management to maintain the status quo, and between ways in which leadership was exercised in relation to antiracist multicultural education in the schools studied, mainly at Stepford.

Headteachers' ambivalent stances in relation to antiracist multicultural education policy and curriculum development, suggested they would be an unlikely source of leadership in that particular respect. Empirical data analysed in this part of the chapter demonstrates that leadership by senior and middle managers in both Eastwick and Midwich, and Stepford subsequently, was characterised by evasion of any potentially contentious developments that conflicted with institutional cultural norms, such as antiracist multicultural education.

6.2.1. Headteachers

Eastwick's headteacher had recognised the need for some kind of antiracist multicultural education policy and curriculum response in the 1970's when the school was the most multiethnic in Loamshire (pp.181-182) but had not effected any changes. Oswald Spofford, Eastwick's Deputy, observed of his headteacher's leadership in these respects,

"As it says in the Bible, 'He who is not with us is against us'. If somebody in a key position like that isn't a change agent, then they're fairly much an agent of reaction, are they not? If they don't implement change, they do prevent change",

providing an important reminder that all leadership is not necessarily about promoting change. As Lieberman and Miller (1992, p.78) suggest, school principals may opt to be good managers, supporting and maintaining the status quo and resisting attempts to change things, but only at the cost of being a good leader. However, as argued below (p. 229), it might be perceived that useful purposes can be served in certain circumstances by resisting or avoiding change.

Midwich's Head, Richard Gayford, claimed "very little knowledge of educational theory of any kind" and to be "a bit of a cavalier really": "I'm an untrained teacher so I've never been through the education mill. I came from industry straight into teaching and I've never read many theory papers". His industrial training suggested to him that "structure" was fundamentally important for the success of any organisation, including Midwich. Several of his staff also referred to its importance, particularly in relation to the distinction between academic and pastoral issues. This concept that a school's success or innovations within it depended on development of an organisational structure or framework, and specifically designated appointments made to it, rather than on leadership, was a recurring theme in empirical data analysed from all three schools.

However, Gayford also indicated that he trusted his instincts rather than policies or detailed planning, particularly if confronted with difficult or unpalatable change, as confirmed by Stepford's Deputy, Dora Leebody, formerly a Midwich Year Head.

Neither Gayford nor Eastwick's Head was appointed because of their known or presumed experience of multicultural education, and Gayford recalled that he

"didn't choose (Midwich) because it was multicultural. It was the first school that came up and I thought, 'Here we go', and I went for it. It was totally insensitive, the selection, as though any head would do for any school. When I look back it's extraordinary".

Although Eastwick's and Midwich's headteachers conveyed impressions of very different approaches to leadership of their schools, and their underlying principles and management processes, they were similar in particular respects. Neither was keen to publish policy documents, both exercised a high degree of personal discretion in deciding whether or not to support proposed developments and both allocated rewards and sanctions in a distinctly transactional (Bryman, 1996) leadership manner. This latter observation was substantiated by the experiences of two Midwich Heads of Faculty, discussed more fully in chapter 8, who experienced loss of status following their enthusiastic involvement in multicultural education developments.

Responding early in 1989 to the same first research phase interview schedule as some of his new colleagues in the Spring and Summer of 1988, Herbert Sunderson, Stepford's new headteacher, provided information about his previous experience as a secondary school headteacher in another LEA, his views on a range of educational issues, including leadership, and his assurance that antiracist multicultural education would be a priority at Stepford. In his previous post, he had been responsible for the amalgamation of a single sex, 11-16 girls school with a similar boys' school to form a new school and community college, but he declared his particular interest in Stepford as a school with a Sixth Form.

In many respects, he espoused theories characteristic of a 1970's headteacher (Musgrove, 1971, p.107) in being "progressive" about school organisation, discipline and the curriculum but, shortly after his appointment, he was required to become familiar with what Grace (1995, p.16) describes as "modern managerial thinking and systems expertise", including marketing Stepford, when the Education Reform Act (1988) was implemented. Gordon Zellaby, Loamshire's Chief Inspector, however, was more interested in Sunderson as "the inspirational leader" and "the man of vision" he thought he recognised in him, perhaps because he believed that Sunderson might give expression to the vision that he himself had for Stepford (p.214).

Sunderson was no stranger to the kinds of controversy sometimes associated with antiracist education. For instance, in his previous school, he had had to "combat the White working class, anti-Asian mentality that was prevalent there, a White backlash", that included "National Front stickers daubed across the front of the school". There were also

"quite a few staff who were anti what we were trying to do but I think it may almost always be like that. That sounds awfully pessimistic because there was a lot of understanding on the staff, Asians on the staff and West Indians, and you'd have thought there'd be an implicit understanding of the needs of the students".

It seemed that, although the Head's previous LEA had clear commitments to antiracist multicultural education and equal opportunities, few developments of that kind occurred at his previous school until it acquired

"a very much left wing, progressive, County Councillor as Chair of Governors, very pro-active and started to ask us, in line with the County's policies on monitoring and evaluation, how we were matching up to our Equal Opportunities aims and objectives".

Sunderson described that chairperson's influence as quite unlike any exerted by Stepford governors, and as "helpful" in persuading his staff to adopt what might have been unpopular or contentious developments. In this instance, Sunderson seemed much less the inspirational leader described by Zellaby, and more the "leader as manager" (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, p.78), "living tentatively in the world as it is, but with one eye cocked to the world as it ought to be, not initiating improvements activities but responding by lending authority and support to approved developments" and relying on ethnic minority group members of staff or "left-wing" governors to initiate and sustain developments.

Nonetheless, in his first interview, early in 1989, he adopted a clear moral stance (Lieberman and Miller, 1992/ Fullan, 1993/Grace, 1995) in antiracist multicultural education terms affirming his "implicit belief in a multicultural society and declaring himself "strong on antiracism". The function of the Head's comments (rather than their meaning) on these occasions was "self-presentation" (Goffman, 1959/ van Dijk, 1987) as a basically fair, experienced and democratic leader committed to equality of educational opportunity and multicultural education, and prepared to adopt any approach to ensure their implementation at Stepford.

"I don't think there's a choice. I can't raise awareness through the drip feed. It is essential because of the nature of the school that we do it more directly".

Nearly three years later, in 1991, following the LEA's inspection of Stepford, Sunderson still stated that "Equal Opportunities in all its spheres is pivotal to the school in its development, its ethos, its beliefs system and its value system" but this was not evident from analysis of empirical research data gathered at that later time.

So, what had happened or, more precisely, what had not happened in the intervening period? Why had antiracist multicultural education not occurred at Stepford, and why had Sunderson not been a more conspicuous leader of developments of that kind?

He had clearly anticipated a "clean slate" on which to write his prescription for an "all-through" (to 18+), multi-ethnic, community secondary school, but seemed surprised, if not actually disappointed, by community, LEA and institutional resistance towards his pedagogical (mainly mixed ability grouping), cross-curricular (antiracist multicultural education), and extra-curricular (Community Education) development proposals.

However, Stepford was not actually a new school; very few new members of staff were appointed, and Stepford was located at the Eastwick and Midwich sites for most of my fieldwork period. Many of those schools' normal structures and practices continued at Stepford, including calculations about antiracist multicultural education's relative advantages and disadvantages for those schools. As data from my second interview with him, in 1990, indicated, Sunderson soon became aware that little support for antiracist multicultural education developments would be derived from within Stepford,

"When I came (in 1988) I honestly believed that every colleague that I have in this school would have a better knowledge of the sort of philosophy that we would want to promulgate than I had. [...] And I'm disappointed to find that I

probably know a darned sight more than most of them, and that is simply from my own background reading, my own experiences - albeit limited in a multiracial society. My disappointment is that many of my colleagues' awareness, their perceptions, are at such a low point in the spectrum".

This assumes that, had teachers been more aware of antiracist multicultural education issues, they would have been more willing to support developments of that kind, but it could be argued that it was because they already recognised it as a deterrent to White student enrolments that they were unwilling to respond more positively.

In his first interview, Sunderson described the way in which antiracist multicultural education developments had occurred in his former school and implied that that was how he would proceed at Stepford.

"There, we took a policy and said, 'We need to raise awareness but it would be appropriate if those policies and ideas trickled into the consciousness of colleagues and into the fabric, if you like, of the curriculum and begin to inveigh and waft through all that we do'. (My emphases)

This represented an evident discrepancy between his uncompromising statements about the need for antiracist multicultural education at Stepford (p.224 above) and his leadership role in achieving them. It suggests little "vision" from "this manager of meaning" (Beare et al, 1992, p.280) or a clearly thought out management strategy for implementing developments as complex and contentious as antiracist multicultural education in all its curricular, cross-curricular and extra curricular forms.

His reference to his previous school served little purpose (Baker et al, 1995, p.22); if antiracist multicultural education developments were to occur at Stepford, its new headteacher would have needed to be more aware of that school's "situational variables". (Davies and Morgan, 1983, p.151) There was no reason to doubt the sincerity of Sunderson's intention to develop antiracist multicultural education at Stepford but, as Grace (1995, p.135) argues, he may not have been trained as a headteacher to manage developments of that kind. Empirical evidence also indicated that Sunderson did not fully comprehend, and therefore could not articulate, the difficulties entailed in attempting to develop antiracist multicultural education at Stepford. In his final interview with me in 1991, his vision of Stepford's antiracist multicultural education future was no more precise or coherent than it had been in his first interview as the following extract indicates..

"The extraordinary nature of this (Stepford) school is the way in which students and staff need to accommodate to meeting the needs of the children. And the wider the (cultural) base, the broader the parameters we have, the greater onus there is on the teachers to make an extraordinary response to the extraordinary needs of the school. But to those people it is ordinary and, whether I'm saying that I want to strive towards an ordinariness in the school, or whether I accept that it is extraordinary, is irrelevant really".

It might be argued that by the time my fieldwork was drawing to a close, Sunderson had accepted that efforts to install antiracist multicultural education at Stepford would be more trouble than they were worth (Fullan, 1982, p.63), and Stepford's Head of Languages was in no doubt that his head's priority in both leadership and management terms was to ensure Stepford's survival as a school.

An NFER survey (Weindling and Earley, 1986, p.334) showed that teachers expected new heads to make changes and that "the vast majority of teachers felt that most of the changes were needed". The changes initiated during the first year of their headship by the headteachers interviewed for the NFER research, however, arose mainly from organisational restructuring and communication needs. (Weindling and Earley, 1987, p.93) More complex, whole school change was deferred with the exception of "public relations and marketing" which assumed such importance as a consequence of the ERA's "open enrolment" provisions that most new headteachers took personal responsibility for it. Weindling and Earley (1987, p.162) also showed that heads of schools in predominantly urban areas were likely to perceive improving their school's public image to be a serious problem and to make it a management priority. Sunderson may have recognised, as his staff would surely have done, that antiracist multicultural education developments could conflict with and detract from achieving this latter priority, but that was not the impression conveyed in his interviews with me or in reporting to his governing body. His report to governors in May, 1990, ended "in good heart and buoyed by the confidence of knowing that Stepford really can provide the integrated, student-centred, sensitive and caring opportunities in the most worthwhile multicultural education experience". However, he gave no examples of any planned "worthwhile multicultural education experiences", that he or anyone else had been responsible for during the year that elapsed between my first and second extended interviews with him.

This might be perceived as an astute headteacher gently reminding his governing body that an antiracist multicultural education "facade" (Smith and Keith, 1971) continued to be necessary if the Home Office's requirements were to be satisfied. He may also have concluded that, in Stepford's best long term interests, antiracist multicultural education could not be developed as anticipated in his first interview's firm and positive statements

without destabilising the larger complex of relationships based on organisational, cultural and professional assumptions for which he was largely responsible, and without which the new school might not survive. Consequently, his role may be perceived as managing antiracist multicultural education's strategic understatement in the interests of Stepford's survival rather than leading his colleagues in the "continuing pursuit of a higher purpose". (Burns, 1978, p.20) However, whilst Sunderson's leadership was not perceived to be transformational in antiracist multicultural education terms, he had no apparent need to adopt "transactional" leadership strategies applied by his Eastwick and Midwich predecessors to deter them, few of his staff demonstrating any practical enthusiasm for developments that might jeopardise Stepford's legitimation by its wider environment.

At the time of Sunderson's comments about equal opportunities still being "pivotal to Stepford and its development", in 1991, the National Curriculum's installation at Stepford was well advanced in accordance with clear management of change guidelines that said more about its perceived legitimacy by comparison with antiracist multicultural education developments than about the management skills required for its implementation. However, the contrast between ways in which these initiatives were managed could not have been more obvious.

6.2.2. Deputy Headteachers

If headteachers seemed unlikely to lead antiracist multicultural education developments, which other members of the schools' staff might be expected to do so? Empirical data concerning Eastwick's, Midwich's and Stepford's deputy headteachers showed them to be among the least likely leaders or change agents in those respects. Their roles at Eastwick and Midwich had been unambiguously middle management in terms that

Bennett (1995, p. 116) reserves for faculty and year heads in secondary schools. "They were responsible for delivering what was laid down rather than involved in developing what was to be done, overseeing and ordering rather than developing work in a constructive way".

As Eastwick's Deputy Head, Oswald Spofford, observed, "Unless you substantially disagree with your head, I think it's your job to study what's in your head's mind and to implement it". In this way, Eastwick's multicultural policy that he wrote (p.170) expressed what he believed his head would have written and as such represented an "organisational defensive routine" (Argyris, 1992, p.48).

Earley and Fletcher-Campbell (1989) observe that any middle management role is more effectively carried out if the individuals concerned are able to adopt a whole school perspective, but this was not the case for either deputy headteachers or heads of year or faculty at either Eastwick or Midwich. For example, in his February, 1988, interview Midwich's headteacher explained that each of his deputies had a Year Group liaison responsibility and some curriculum oversight but that it was his belief that cross-curricular issues, such as antiracist multicultural education, needed no oversight or supervision.

Considerable uncertainty about deputies' roles at Stepford were evident. Oswald Spofford stated that the new Head (Herbert Sunderson) expected his deputies to share management roles and to "rotate" them. Spofford observed that "it's not entirely clear what the portfolios will include" and "all three deputies will be doing the same job, except that we're not yet really sure what he wants us to do, which is a little wasteful in terms of all that has to be done". Although Spofford soon gained his own headship, this uncertainty continued and was exacerbated, in July, 1990 by the extension of Stepford's SMT

to include Heads of Faculty (pp.234-236).

All Stepford's deputies were former Eastwick or Midwich personnel and when Spofford moved to his headship in 1989, all were ex-Midwich personnel. Therefore, there were no external appointments at this level to introduce new perspectives on issues such as antiracist multicultural education. Indeed, deputy headteachers represented an "infusion" (Scott, 1994, p.57) of Eastwick's and Midwich's "meaning systems and behaviour patterns, and constitutive and normative rules" into Stepford's "corporate identity" (Draper, 1992). As Stepford's Head of Science observed that "That makes it more difficult for the deputies because they have a vision one way, looking backwards over their shoulders all the time at something in their past".

Claude Axhelm, formerly Head of English at Midwich, viewed Stepford's Senior Management team and its individuals without enthusiasm and doubted the "actual commitment of management to the fact that a school is a multicultural working community that's got to be made to work" and Walter Eberhart, Stepford's Head of Languages suspected,

"an uncertainty also at the top; let's hope this transcript doesn't go back to the top. Difficult to say why. I think the lack of a real philosophical commitment to (antiracist multicultural education), in all honesty. Lip-service, possibly, on the part of several members of the senior management but true commitment has not been that clear".

These references to Stepford's SMT's lack of commitment to antiracist multicultural education do not suggest that members of Stepford's SMT held racist views but it seems

governor, David Markowe, recognised no "conspiracy" in Stepford's neglect of antiracist multicultural education developments but felt that "a great lack of direction" from the Headteacher and his Deputies coupled with "the struggle to survive" had been responsible for its non-development. This latter observation is consistent with Walter Eberhart's comments about his headteacher's priorities (p.227/228) and confirms impressions raised in that earlier discussion that antiracist multicultural education was perceived at several different organisational levels to be inconsistent with Stepford's survival.

Given their non-developmental role, Stepford's deputy headteachers were increasingly viewed as representatives of what Bennett (1995, p.16) describes as a "management culture of control and direction". Loamshire's Section 11 Monitoring Officer, Marge McCormick, described a meeting with Oswald Spofford in which she tried to emphasise the importance of deploying Section 11 staff only in support of ethnic minority students and not improperly to support a wider range of curriculum options than Stepford could otherwise sustain. McCormick interpreted Spofford's "that'll be inconvenient for the timetable" response as showing no concern for anything other than the mainstream curriculum.

Discussion here of Stepford's deputy headteachers' lack of any whole school leadership or developmental role, particularly any transformational leadership roles in relation to antiracist multicultural education developments, confirmed them as unlikely contributors to Bolam's (1975) change agent system. They were perceived to be more likely to maintain established routines and procedures "transplanted" (Meyer et al, 1994, p.21) or "exteriorised" (Berger and Luckman, 1967) from their former schools to Stepford, contributing little that was new to the school's "meaning systems" and occupying, in

institutional theory terms, a more “regulatory” than innovative role (Scott, 1994, p.56:see figure 2.3, p.39).

6.2.3 Middle Management - Faculty Heads and Year Heads

Bennett (1995, p.18) argues that the concept of middle management “assumes a downward flow of authority from the leader of the organisation, given to promote what the leader seeks. To conceive of staff as operating in ‘middle management’ roles is to locate them in an essentially hierarchical view of the organisation”. But Bennett also recognises middle management’s important role in “spreading the vision and delivering it in practice in the wide range of classroom and other activities which make up the daily work of schools”. As noted earlier (p. 230) in relation to deputy headteachers, this role is much more effectively carried out if middle managers are able to adopt a whole school perspective on their work (Earley and Fletcher-Campbell, 1989) but at Eastwick, it could be argued that there had been no middle managers, senior subject specialists serving as such in terms of their curriculum responsibilities but taking no whole school responsibilities. Midwich’s Heads of Faculty, on the other hand, had responsibility for a group of curriculum subjects and a faculty building but they also contributed little to their school’s overall development. Stepford’s middle managers’ roles and responsibilities in September, 1988, were similar to those at Midwich. Consequently, except for the brief period in Stepford in 1990 discussed below, Earley and Fletcher-Campbell’s (1989) recommended whole school perspectives were not available to any middle management personnel discussed here.

Walter Eberhart, Stepford’s Head of Languages faculty, perceived the school’s Heads of Faculty as “crucial to its survival” during the period that Stepford operated on two sites.

In July, 1990, shortly after Stepford was established on one site, the Head re-designated Faculty Heads (what the Head of Science referred to as "E' allowance post-holders") as Senior Teachers, including them in an extended SMT. He described this as "putting them in a position of managing the school; we've called it the school management team".

This team included Stepford's deputies, although they were still part of the school's senior management team, and each member of this new team was given responsibility for reviewing school policies developed two years earlier. All members of the extended SMT were expected to "evaluate the work that's going on inside and outside the classroom in terms of what it means to be a student in this multicultural school". The Head of Science also felt they should be visiting classrooms, guiding and supporting teachers,

"because there are staff who feel genuinely helpless. It's the classroom, staff and students, use of materials that give out all those hidden messages of racism or not racism, multiculturalism or not multiculturalism, sexism or not sexism",

but these Senior Teachers' duties were not specified in such detailed terms in relation to any aspect of their responsibilities, including antiracist multicultural education. The Head of Science also wanted to see "other broad indicators", such as extra-curricular activities and displays and exhibitions around the school, to evaluate multicultural education's effects on all students, including ethnic minority group students but, again, those indicators were not developed or applied. Instead, Sunderson himself intended to work with Stepford's Multicultural Education Co-ordinator in a separate initiative to evaluate what had been accomplished in terms of antiracist multicultural education but it is not clear that this evaluation ever occurred.

In May, 1991, immediately after the school's OFSTED-style inspection by Loamshire's inspection team, the extended school management team was disbanded and its twelve members were designated curriculum or cross-curriculum leaders. According to Stepford's Head, the inspection report had failed to reveal a "major management issue which, became a hidden agenda of the inspection".

"I don't think that the Inspectors picked up the fact that staff really do not have a say in managing the school other than on certain formal occasions which are my whole staff meetings or one or two working groups that have looked at whole school issues. Now that I think is basically wrong in terms of the democratic process that I have held dear"

Again (see also page 224) an impression was conveyed by his closing comment that the Head was engaging in "self-presentation" (Goffman, 1959/ van Dijk, 1987) and questions are begged about why closer staff involvement in whole school decision making had not been achieved given that that was the previous year's SMT extension's stated purpose.

Whether the inspection was responsible for Stepford's further middle management re-organisation in 1991, or whether it was necessary to re-deploy the former faculty heads, as experienced subject specialists, to plan the National Curriculum's imminent implementation in secondary schools was unclear. However, it prompted the Languages Faculty Head, re-designated Curriculum Area Leader for Languages, to describe that level of management in the school as being "slightly in limbo" and his senior teacher colleagues as "operating in a vacuum". This had been responsible for "less development of any kind than might have been expected" and had affected antiracist multicultural education

developments because “in terms of whole school policies, there has been a breakdown between senior management responsible for writing them and the soldiers on the ground responsible for implementing them”. (see p.176)

All of this was ironic given the importance attached to different kinds of organisation or structure by Herbert Sunderson, governors (p.240/241) and Stepford’s Head of Science (p.234) as an indication that antiracist multicultural education was being seriously addressed at Stepford, although the greater weight of empirical evidence points to their more symbolic (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.178) than functional purpose. Further reasons for the senior teachers’ re-deployment to subject specialist duties might have been a re-statement of their SMT’s control and direction of their activities given the freedom and professional discretion they had enjoyed as, first, faculty heads on Stepford’s two sites and, later, as extended SMT members with cross-curricular responsibilities. None of these restructurings and re-deployments suggests any sustained attempt to transform Stepford’s “normal” school policies or practices to achieve “exceptional” development as a school openly committed to antiracist multicultural education.

At faculty level, reference has already been made (pp.184) to Stepford’s Head of Science’s dual role as Equal Opportunities Co-ordinator and to his ESOL and multicultural curriculum development initiatives. Walter Eberhart felt that most of his immediate Languages Faculty colleagues viewed the concept of multicultural education sympathetically and knew what his views were, but they lacked practical expertise. “I always believe that we’ll move but it’s a question of educating personnel, raising awareness as well, providing them with relevant information and just a matter of gentle persuasion”. Although he was certain he could offer leadership in helping to identify antiracist multicultural education policy options, he also felt that

"an imposed policy doesn't have a cat in hell's chance of working, frankly.

The cupboards of the school must be full of dusty documents which have been passed down from on high, from Olympus. They are treated with, at best, contempt".

He preferred individual professional development more than curriculum development as a means of improving curriculum delivery and, therefore, students' educational experiences and achievements. As a member of Stepford's Multicultural Education policy working party, he had access to his own faculty members' responses to the consultation process, and intended to edit them as the basis for a Languages Faculty scheme of work emphasising classroom practice. It is not certain that this happened; Eberhart certainly led language teaching workshops on training days for all staff but when questioned about it (p.178), only one of his faculty colleagues knew about Stepford's antiracist multicultural education policy. It is possible that he adopted his particular policy implementation strategy because, like his headteacher, he was an "outside" appointee for whom uniting two different groups of personnel, the former Modern Languages and English faculties, was a priority. He would also have been aware of the very limited success of the Science Faculty Head's attempts to impose curriculum materials on his immediate colleagues and the same colleagues' subsequent, more effective collaboration with the specialist ESOL teacher in attempting to introduce English language support into his faculty's Science classrooms.

Whatever preferences either of the two heads of faculty might have expressed in terms of managing improved teacher attitudes and performances in relation to antiracist multicultural education in their faculty's classrooms, their actions were no more legitimated by whole school strategic guidelines than their work as members of Stepford's extended SMT had been.

In pastoral terms, Stepford's Year Heads and Form Tutors did not work directly with students' parents or other interested members of the community, although Dora Leebody, Stepford's Deputy Head, had done so as a Year Head at Midwich in relation to, mainly, Asian girls. Richard Gayford had also appointed a non-teacher welfare worker to deal with all Midwich ethnic minority students' pastoral requirements and to liaise with their parents and their communities. After two brief and unsuccessful attempts by Stepford's SMT to persuade all form tutors to take a more extended interest in all their students' pastoral requirements, Herbert Sunderson deployed one of Stepford's Community Languages tutors to provide that support. These were expedient measures, almost certainly less effective than if teachers and Year Heads had related directly to all their students' parents and their homes. Teachers, therefore, developed little working understanding of students' home backgrounds and the community in which they lived. There was, in short, no leadership in developing pastoral work with minority ethnic group pupils because it was dealt with separately from "normal" mainstream pastoral activity.

From data analysed in this section it can be recognised that, except for a brief period in 1990, middle management personnel at Stepford had no greater whole school curriculum or pastoral insight or responsibility than their Eastwick and Midwich counterparts, and organisational restructurings did not achieve their involvement in whole school decision making or improvement espoused by Stepford's Head. Heads of Faculty had no formally specified mandate to address antiracist multicultural education issues in any of their different roles and faculty based antiracist multicultural education leadership, where attempted through providing their immediate colleagues' with classroom focused professional development, was confined to single issue, rather than whole school - or whole system (Senge, 1990) - interests. Therefore, middle managers' were essentially functional in terms of ensuring delivery of existing educational services rather than

participating in the development of new educational approaches, particularly of a whole school kind.

6.2.4 Teachers with specific responsibilities for antiracist multicultural education.

Eastwick had no teachers with specific responsibility for any aspect of antiracist multicultural education although, before it merged with Midwich, at least two members of staff had been part funded as Section 11 teachers. Midwich increased its Section 11 staff to five teachers and two ancillaries before the merger but Ed' Merrill was the only one working full time with minority ethnic group students. Alan Hughes, as the school's Equal Opportunities Co-ordinator, in addition to being Head of Science, also took personal responsibility for gender equality issues, whilst Herbert Flagg, as well as being Multicultural Education Co-ordinator, was also Head of Geography, and specifically responsible for 'race' equality. Both retained these responsibilities at Stepford. Sue Rougemont, continued her Midwich Special Needs Co-ordinator duties at Stepford, including her contested involvement with developing bilingual learners.

Herbert Flagg continued as Multicultural Education Co-ordinator but had no time designated for monitoring or development work in that role. In April, 1989, he expressed his frustration in not being able to attend any of the Section 11 staff training sessions for which I took responsibility at Stepford, as discussed in more detail in chapter 8. One of the consequences of the June, 1991 further reorganisation of former Faculty Heads as curriculum area managers was that Herbert Flagg became Curriculum Co-ordinator for Geography, relinquishing his Multicultural Education Co-ordinator post. Loamshire's inspection report also noted that the earlier "departure" of the former Head of Science in

his role as "Gender Issues Co-ordinator" was partly responsible for a loss of momentum in the school's equal opportunities work. Flagg expressed the hope that whoever was appointed as Equal Opportunities Co-ordinator to take responsibility for his and Alan Hughes' combined interests would have sufficient seniority and relief from teaching duties to be influential in that role. A relatively young, recently qualified Sociology teacher, author of the examinations results report discussed in chapter 5, with a full teaching timetable, was appointed to the post.

Stepford's interim chair of Governors, Councillor Mary Migliardi, had been determined to use the opportunity of setting up Stepford as a new school to facilitate cross curricular developments, including multicultural education developments, through the appointment of "lateral thinking" Cross-curriculum Co-ordinators in each faculty (pp. 216). They were to provide leadership within a whole school organisational structure according to agreed developmental principles and processes. Councillor Migliardi confirmed that

"The Chief Inspector (as acting Head) and I had done what we could to make sure that, given a following wind and good will, the structures were there to enable antiracist multicultural education to happen. I feel that unless you get the structures right, you might as well pack it all in".

Again, an emphasis on organisational structures as a means of ensuring antiracist multicultural education developments was noted. In 1989, Stepford's Head described the Cross Curriculum posts as "valuable", but in the following June, he suggested that the interim management team had "had difficulties getting the right people into the right (Cross Curriculum Co-ordinator) jobs" and, also, that there was "an implied threat and criticism (for Eastwick staff) in the way that all the cross-curricular issues were generated

from what one school (Midwich) did and believed in". Accordingly, he deleted the Cross Curriculum Co-ordinator posts but most of the post-holders' retained their responsibility allowances by acquiring ESOL support duties. This immediately changed their role from an intentionally developmental to a service providing mode, diminishing their possibility of initiating and supporting antiracist multicultural education developments. This was not necessarily a deliberate attempt by Sunderson to prevent antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford, Draper (1992, p.385) observing that the identity of a school "could not be proposed before it opened; "in practice, it could only be socially constructed by its participants", a process to which, it could be argued, Sunderson contributed by making this change.

None of these specially designated individuals had either time or mandate to change Stepford's cultural status quo, and no development plans guided their work. As Tolbert and Zucker (1996, p. 180) observe "We end up with the implicit argument that a structure can maintain its symbolic value in the face of widespread knowledge that its effect on individuals' behaviour is negligible". However, the costs of creating these symbolic, resources securing structures is "comparatively low compared to the potential gain to be derived from an approving environment". Evidence of frequent re-organisation of Stepford's structures associated with antiracist multicultural education developments, and the evident lack of organisational support for individuals with specific antiracist multicultural education responsibilities, suggested little sustained commitment to the functional purposes of those developments. More effort seemed to be invested in them as a constantly shifting strategy of "impression management" (Goffman , 1959) or as a "facade" (Smith and Keith, 1971) to satisfy occasional external scrutiny.

It was also evident that what Stepford's new headteacher had expressed as a moral commitment to the development of antiracist multicultural education rapidly became little more than a de-racialised response to ethnic minority students' ESOL needs. The nominal leadership roles of teachers with specific responsibilities for different aspects of antiracist multicultural education was no more than loosely coupled to other leadership activities in which they engaged, such as the Head of Science's ESOL initiative (see p. 184).

6.2.5 Ethnic Minority Teachers

Lieberman & Miller (1992) argue that, theoretically, any teacher can be a leader or change agent in any school and Herbert Sunderson anticipated that all teachers' attitudes towards antiracist multicultural education in his former school should have been better than they actually were because of Black and Asian teachers' presence on his staff (p.223). Stepford's Black Governor asserted that, if more Black teachers could be attracted to Stepford, its ethos would be more consistent with the community it served and Black students would be encouraged by the presence of appropriate role models.

However, Stepford's potential minority ethnic group teacher complement was almost halved at the time of the merger, one from Eastwick accepting early retirement and one from Midwich accepting re-deployment to a feeder middle school. It is evident from interview data gathered from Stepford's remaining three Black teachers (pp. 309-318) that none of them was sufficiently interested in, or experienced enough, to assume any kind of leadership role in relation to antiracist multicultural education developments. Furthermore, no assumptions could be made about their attitudes towards antiracist multicultural education developments on the basis of their own ethnicity. (see chapter 8, pp.308-316)

Summary

Bennett (1995, pp. 16/17) defines organisational leadership as giving direction to others' work, helping them to see what is wanted in a particular setting, how it should be achieved, and shaping assumptions about organisational values and norms, and individual behaviour in relation to them.

Central and local government's leadership of antiracist multicultural education developments was perceived to be even less certain, positive or direct than its policy development in that respect. Legislation and Home Office administrative guidelines offered transactional (Burns, 1978) leadership based on the exchange of financial resources for the provision of technical services at LEA and school levels but provided no transformational leadership through the articulation of a vision of education in multiethnic Britain. In some instances, such as the administration of Section 11 funding, attention to the Home Office's regulatory requirements distracted attention from Stepford's need to develop its own responses to the pupils and communities it served.

Where central and local governments' leadership was more certain, direct and positive, for example, in relation to the National Curriculum's implementation, advice and guidance tended to be culturally conservative, taking little account of the multiethnic nature of schools such as Stepford. Again, central government's relationship with LEAs directly, and through them with schools indirectly, was essentially transactional in providing resources in return for compliance with the National Curriculum's implementation requirements.

Through these functional administrative and accountability activities, central government, and local government acting on its behalf, were seen to communicate implicit

messages about what was “proper and good (cultural) behaviour” (Bennett, 1995, p.16) which excluded reference to ‘race’ and cultural diversity issues. Thus, central and local government’s administrative pressure concerning antiracist multicultural education developments (Huberman and Miles, 1984, p. 48) was effective in communicating mixed, but not generally supportive, messages about their legitimacy to would-be leaders as change agents.

Stepford’s interim management team believed it had done as much as it could, in appointing an “inspirational” leader as headteacher, and installing a cross-curricular organisational framework and related posts of responsibility, to ensure that essentially “moral” (Grace, 1995/ Fullan, 1993/ Lieberman and Miller, 1992) cross curricular developments, such as antiracist multicultural education, were implemented. However, Stepford’s new governors, with the exception of a Black parent governor, were an ambiguous (Deem et al, 1992, p.217) influence on ‘race’ and cultural diversity issues.

Stepford’s new headteacher initially expressed more direct and overt commitment to antiracist multicultural education than his Eastwick or Midwich predecessors, but was unable, or became unwilling, to communicate his vision to his Stepford colleagues. His position may be described much less by reference to Lieberman and Miller’s (1992, p. 76) “neutrality” about it than to discrepancies between his espoused theories concerning both antiracist multicultural education and participative, “democratic” management processes (see p.235) and his theories in use (Argyris and Schon, 1978) which persisted until my fieldwork ended. Consequently, his colleagues remained uncertain about his, or his SMT’s, “real philosophical commitment” to antiracist multicultural education and the ways in which it might developed at Stepford.

As an experienced headteacher in a new school, he might have been expected (Weindling and Earley, 1987, p.98) to instigate change and to delegate responsibility for its implementation. This is not to imply that Herbert Sunderson was ideologically opposed to antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford but empirical evidence indicated that he was unlikely to “take the (leadership) leap” personally (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, p. 79) in any management of change, requiring others to initiate developments, particularly those likely to be contentious.

Sunderson’s initial “transformational” leadership assertions concerning antiracist multicultural education developments rapidly changed to “transactional” dealings with the most powerful communities of interest internal and external to Stepford to try to ensure its survival. This did not involve parents or students, as in Gillborn’s (1995) study, and in this respect, did not characterise his leadership as transformational. Rather, antiracist multicultural education’s containment required complex impression management (Goffman, 1958) to represent Stepford as a “normal” (White, Anglo-Saxon, middle class and Protestant) school for most purposes through understatement of its cultural diversity, and as a multiethnic, multi-faith and linguistically diverse school for other purposes, such as attracting Section 11 funding.

It also entailed creation of structural arrangements ostensibly to support ethnic minority students, and individuals and teams of teachers in nominal leadership roles to develop antiracist multicultural education and address equal opportunities issues. Data analysis in this chapter shows that, although these arrangements may have served useful symbolic purposes, internal and external to Stepford, the individuals concerned had no time or authority to carry out their duties, and structures were re-organised so frequently that they never achieved the purposes for which they appeared to have been set up. In

return for maintaining this “backstage/ frontstage” representation, Stepford - and individual teachers directly involved - received rewards and inducements from central government, its LEA and the communities it served.

It became increasingly evident during the period of my fieldwork that, without transformational leadership prepared to address the implications of ‘race’ and cultural diversity for the school, Stepford’s proliferation of designated antiracist multicultural education posts of responsibility would not affect developments at Stepford any more positively than at Eastwick or Midwich. Indeed, rather than providing an effective task force committed to antiracist multicultural education developments, this very full and senior cast of potential leaders comprised an antiracist multicultural education “facade” (Smith and Keith, 1971) which represented an “organisational defensive routine” (Argyris, 1992) obscuring and obstructing the school’s full and explicit attention to issues central to its cultural identity, and from learning about itself as an organisation.

None of this reflects particularly well on Stepford’s headteacher, Herbert Sunderson, but it should be recognised that his was the most invidious position of all at the pivotal point of the school’s struggle for survival in an increasingly competitive market for students exacerbated by the ERA’s “open enrolments” provisions. It was difficult to recognise him as the “transformational” leader Stepford needed if it was to provide a genuinely antiracist multicultural approach to education but neither of his predecessors had provided that kind of leadership generally, and both had been ambivalent about antiracist multicultural education developments. Therefore, few of Stepford’s teachers, had any experience of transformational leadership or sustained commitment to antiracist multicultural education.

Stepford's deputy headteachers, like those identified by Baker et al (1995, p. 32/33), were "weak" in their attitudes towards change generally, particularly concerning antiracist multicultural education, and - in the words of Stepford's Head of Science (p.231) - were constantly looking over their shoulder to something in their past experience to guide their present actions. Other middle managers (with the exception of Stepford's Head of Science) preferred their headteacher to make "the important decisions", particularly those likely to affect the school's public image. In addition, Stepford's middle management's uncertainty about their SMT's commitment to antiracist multicultural education, made it impossible for them to "spread the vision" (Bennett, 1995, p.18), even if their roles had given them opportunities to do so.

These uncertainties about Stepford's antiracist multicultural education vision, and about leadership or management strategies for its realisation, were among the most obvious and persistent factors negatively affecting its development at the school. In other words, antiracist multicultural education leadership was no more reliable as a basis for developments of that kind at Stepford than policy statements and positions discussed in the previous chapter.

The main concepts that emerge (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.23) from data analysis in this chapter, therefore, are concerned with discrepancies and inconsistencies between the prevailing transactional leadership that enabled Stepford, and to a lesser extent, its predecessor Midwich, to represent themselves as "normal" schools and the "more democratic and open" (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, p.78), management processes needed to develop antiracist multicultural education at Stepford, as espoused initially by its new headteacher. Again, a Goffmanesque backstage/frontstage impression is conveyed by these

different perceptions of antiracist multicultural education leadership affecting its development at Stepford.

No criticism of individuals is intended in this observation. Scott's (1994, p.57) "layered figure" (figure 2.3 , p.39) clearly indicates the range and complexity of influences impacting on individuals and institutions at all levels of decision making, mainly to deter them from adopting and developing beliefs and activities inconsistent with prevailing organisational and community norms. Indeed, in this work of restating and communicating established norms, expectations and values, Stepford's leaders may have provided their colleagues, and arguably their students, with "a stable element in an unstable environment" (Bennett, 1995, pp. 16/17) by recognising as undeniable the influence of "political technologies of power" (Foucault, 1979, p.219) hierarchically conditioning and constraining organisations' and individuals' alternative courses of action in very specific cultural and ideological ways. The effects of these powerful, mainly external influences, discussed in the chapter that follows, also impacted on Stepford as a powerful factor affecting its development of antiracist multicultural education.

Part 2. Chapter 7.

Communities of interest

In this chapter, Stepford is represented as an "open system" (Hoy and Miskel, 1987) influenced by and, potentially influencing, the communities it served. Different external communities of interest's influences on Stepford's cultural identities are compared and contrasted. Evidence of periodic political and ideological struggle between different communities of interest, with Stepford's and its predecessors' institutionalised and normalised (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, Foucault, 1975, Goffman, 1961) cultural identities as "sites of struggle" (Giroux, 1981), is also presented and analysed. Stepford's attempts to respond to some of those influences by conveying different public images (Goffman, 1958/ Smith and Keith, 1971) to different audiences in the interests of survival, and resisting others through organisational defensive routines (Argyris, 1994) are also discussed.

Ways in which the schools concerned related differently to different ethnic groups in the communities served are examined and Loamshire LEA's Community Education initiative, intended to encourage more and different kinds of community involvement in its schools, is discussed in terms of its potential influence on Stepford's antiracist multicultural education developments.

Teachers as internal communities of interest are examined separately in chapter 8.

Empirical research evidence concerning Stepford's and its predecessors' relationships with their different external "communities of interest" in terms of 'race', cultural diversity, equality and education are examined in this chapter. For the purposes of my research each community of interest is perceived as having interests in Stepford School and Community College in common, albeit in different aspects of its activities. "Communities of interest", therefore, refers to individual informants' more porous and intersecting collective interests than the expression "group interests" conveys. It includes both formally and informally constituted groups, recognising that not all members may share the same views about their collective interests and that individual members may belong to more than one community of interest at the same time. For example, for some County and Borough Councillor governors of both Midwich and Eastwick schools, such as Jim Burke, there was evident conflict between their different levels of political, and different governing body, responsibilities. Whilst Burke was Stepford's vice-Chair of Governors, one of his children attended its Eastwick based Sixth Form and he continued as an active member of a rump parent lobby attempting to keep the former Eastwick site open. Full and detailed examination of such complex individual and group involvements and influences, indicative of the complexity of key actors' interests, was beyond the scope of my study but, nonetheless, is not ignored in the sections that follow.

Communities of interest in Stepford's organisational field were identifiable as more or less formal groups influencing the school's stated policies, practices and public image. The more formal the community of interest's role, the more likely it was to affect "constitutive and normative rules" and "regulatory processes", whereas Stepford's informally constituted communities of interest were more likely to affect "meaning and behaviour

systems" (see figure 2.3, p.39), particularly discretionary behaviour. (Scott and Meyer, 1994, pp.117/118) For example, central government perceived as a formally constituted community of interest in terms of antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford introduced and reinforced regulatory procedures concerning the administration of Section 11 funds. On the other hand, informally constituted White parents' communities of interest were partly responsible for Stepford's "normal school" meaning systems and perceived behaviour patterns being emphasised as a means of encouraging them to enrol their children at the school. The distinction is not absolute but it serves here to identify the kinds of influence that different communities of interest exerted on antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford.

Distinctions between internal and external communities of interest were problematic, most notably in terms of governors' leadership (discussed in the previous chapter) and their community representation roles, discussed here. It also proved impossible to examine Loamshire County and Loamtown Borough (town) political interests in detail. Although only the former had statutory responsibilities for education, political decisions affecting Stepford were made by party caucuses at both county and town levels.

On the one hand, data from local political sources and from LEA inspection and administration personnel, and data concerning different groups of parents and other members of communities are compared and contrasted. Additionally, Loamshire LEA's influence, increasingly on behalf of central government as "the state locally" (Troyna, 1990), and in its own right concerning developments such as the community education initiative at Stepford, is discussed. On the other hand, evidence of the school's actual and potential influence on its organisational field's (see figure 2.3, p.39) understanding of,

and attitudes towards, antiracist multicultural education is also analysed by reference to empirical data.

All these groups, and their reciprocal influences on antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford, can be located in Scott's (1994, p.57) "layered" institutional model (see figure 2.3, p.39) and discussed by reference to institutional theory's central interests in ways in which organisations seek legitimisation of their policies and practices, and to secure and retain resources in support of their activities.

However, institutional theory can also inform analysis of individual relationships with, and responses to, organisational dilemmas and complexities (Scott and Meyer, 1994), such as those in which individuals are required to make personal and professional decisions in organisational situations in which 'race' and cultural diversity are operative. Teachers' influences on antiracist multicultural education developments are discussed as "internal" communities of interest in the chapter that follows, but some reference to their individual interests is unavoidable in this chapter.

The potential influence of other groups internal and external to both schools, but neither conspicuously interested in the substantive issues discussed here, nor contributing resources or legitimisation, are noted but not examined in detail. For example, teacher unions and curriculum subject associations, and Loamtown's Council for Racial Equality, were perceived mainly as external communities of potential interest, whereas Stepford's ancillary personnel's interests were internal. These groups' involvement in Stepford's antiracist multicultural education developments may have been desirable but they were not evident. The Black parent governor, Dale Coba, as a member of Loamtown's Race Equality Council's Executive Committee, assessed its influence on education in Loamtown

as "none whatsoever. We're not even thinking about it. I think that theme has fallen by the wayside".

Apart from any effects of major political, legislative and administrative changes that occurred throughout the research period, institutional and community contexts studied here, as discussed in chapter 4, changed very little. Indeed, Eastwick continued to be used as one of Stepford's two sites for the first two years of my fieldwork.

7.1 Central and Local Government Interests.

As identified in my literature review in chapter 2, and in other chapters in part 2, central government's positive and proactive legislative and leadership roles in matters of 'race', culture diversity and equality in education were inconspicuous before and during my research. Central government commissioned enquiries and received reports on education in multicultural Britain (Swann, 1985/ Eggleston, 1986/ Gillborn and Gipps, 1996) but its roles were mainly regulatory (Scott, 1994, p.63: see figure 2.3 p.39), in terms of setting and reinforcing normative rules (Scott, 1994, p.57) for administering its Section 11 budget and through HMI's, subsequently OFSTED's, school inspections.

Section 11 funding's local administration and monitoring were imposed on LEA's by the Home Office but central government made no direct attempt to influence antiracist multicultural education's development in schools. Consequently, central government's position concerning antiracist multicultural education in schools and colleges was rarely expressed formally, its lack of overt interest representing what Grace (1995, p.169) describes as a "culture of silence on racial issues". This requires researchers to take account of a "complex linguistic territory" (Gillborn, 1995) in which central government's

silence about 'race', cultural diversity and English education was perceived by potential change agents at Stepford to be as indicative of its antiracist multicultural education meaning systems as any outright denial of their importance.

Central government's, more precisely the Home Office's, influence on structures and procedures nominally designed to respond to race and cultural diversity issues at Stepford was, nonetheless, significant. Had it not been for its administrative requirements governing the allocation of Section 11 funds, it is inconceivable that such elaborate "facades" (Smith and Keith, 1971) and "impression management" (Goffman, 1959) would have been devised at Stepford. All of this was seen to be consistent with Adelman's (1984, p.1542) view that organisations that construct formal structures as symbolic gestures of compliance with government policy are more likely to secure government resources. As Tolbert and Zucker (1996) recognise, this does not mean that fundamental change has occurred in an organisation to take account of changed needs or purposes. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) suggest that certain organisations may devise an organisation "false front" for those purposes, and individual organisational actors' "normal" behaviour may be unaffected.

7.2 Loamshire and Loamtown Political Interests

In data analysed here it is possible to recognise Foucault's (1979, p. 219) "political technologies of power" working through local party political actors' interpretations of central government policies to "normalise" schools such as Stepford in cultural terms. In other words, local political party and individual political actors' influences on Stepford were seen to have been partly responsible for some of its institutionalised structural characteristics most resistant to antiracist multicultural education developments. It again proved difficult to disentangle individual actors' personal, community and party political

interests in the issues considered here but empirical data substantiates the view that Conservative County and Borough councillors were ideologically opposed to first Midwich's and then Stepford's identities as multi-ethnic schools.

Eastwick's and Midwich's merger was a significant, but not the only, occasion on which local political antagonisms were exposed over the issue of new school building, school mergers, catchment areas and parental choice of school. In 1976, the proposal by the majority Labour party group on Loamshire's County Council's to build a new school on the Midwich site was opposed by Conservatives. Councillor Bernard Westcott, representing the multicultural, working class ward in which Midwich was located, had been instrumental in the campaign, from 1973 onwards, to have it built and to determine its catchment area. This brought him into direct political conflict with Conservative Councillors representing residents in the White, suburban areas to the North of the school who opposed its building. Westcott's own children would have been required to attend Eastwick if Midwich had not been built, and he was convinced that the new school needed to "keep faith" with its working class and multicultural community's characteristics. In these respects he described Midwich as "simply natural".

Midwich opened in September, 1978, but the Conservative majority returned in the preceding May's County Council elections immediately changed its catchment area determined by the outgoing Labour group so that all properties to its North were excluded. Westcott described it as "absurd" that, every morning, children from Wareham, Wisedale and Dereham could be seen queuing for buses to transport them to schools elsewhere in Loamshire.

By 1983, it had become apparent that Midwich, with an anticipated student roll for the 1984/5 school year of 630, would not enrol sufficient students to offer a full range of Advanced Level examination options in its Sixth Form. A Conservative Councillor who was also a Midwich governor, proposed its closure but further suggested that, if Midwich could not be closed, parents should be given "freedom of choice" to send their children to any of Loamtown's secondary schools. "Then Midwich will close", she added, "by parents voting with their feet". (contemporary newspaper report, 18th December, 1983). This anticipated, by some five years, Conservative central government policy in the Education Reform Act (1988) concerning free parental choice of schools for their children, and predictions of its negative consequences for minority ethnic communities, their children and their local schools (Eggleston, 1990/Hardy & Vieler Porter, 1992). Loamshire County Council's Conservative majority's attempt to close the school in 1984 was unsuccessful, being overruled by the then Conservative government's Secretary of State for Education, Sir Keith Joseph.

In 1987, two Conservative councillors, again both Midwich governors, proposed that Midwich should be closed to reduce surplus places in all Loamtown schools which, as discussed earlier (pp. 156-157), ultimately led to the merger with Eastwick and Stepford's opening in 1988. It was recognised that the school would only be viable if its catchment area included desirable properties to its North, in the small, suburban communities of Dereham, Wareham and Wisedale represented by Conservative councillors. 'Race' and cultural differences between the North and South parts of the catchment area figured prominently in local newspaper accounts of these developments. The terms used by the Conservative councillor to describe the feelings of Dereham, Wisedale and Wareham residents she represented, for example, had unfortunate connotations in that respect; "It would be selling them down the river to build a school (at Midwich)". She also predicted

that there would be a “customer reaction” from parents in those communities if their children “had to go into this (Midwich) area” and that they would send their children to independent schools.

These examples indicate Labour councillors’ broadly positive attitudes towards Midwich and Stepford and Conservative councillors’ broadly negative attitudes towards those schools, including some expressed by governors of those schools. In this instance, it was not Tolbert and Zucker’s “economic” model (1996, p. 179) of institutional theory that applied to rationalisation of Stepford’s “normal school” structures and practices but a political legitimisation model. Given the delicate balance of political power in Loamshire and Loamtown, Stepford’s management team may have felt it was wise to convey at least one public image of the school as a “normal” school to avoid, among other things, adverse political attention, whether or not local Conservatives were in office.

7.3 Governors

Governors, particularly County Councillors with access to Loamshire’s Education Committee, might have exerted some influence on antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford, and in the LEA generally but most were affected by their own personal as well as political dilemmas. As Deem et al (1992 p.217) observe, governors as a community of interest are not “something static”, their influence being exercised according to shifting coalitions of interest and alliances based on class, gender, politics, ethnicity and religion, among innumerable other factors.

For example, Stepford's eventual deputy chair of governors, Jim Burke, formerly one of Eastwick's co-opted parent governors, was opposed to Stepford's merger with Midwich although, as a Labour councillor, he subscribed to his party's policies of comprehensive education, cultural diversity, opposition to racism and "no closure before merger" of any school. Stepford's first elected Chair of Governors, Councillor Edward Hamilton, found it difficult to understand thinking "quite that schizophrenic" but recognised that Burke's political theories in use (Argyris and Schon, 1978) were likely to influence his thinking more than his espoused political theories.

But the dilemma might equally have been his own and, with the exception of Bernard Westcott, other governors interviewed expressed uncertain or ambiguous views about the merger's likely consequences in general, and about antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford in particular. Certain other governors, demonstrated negative interests in Stepford and Midwich, consistent with a clearly discerned political and cultural hegemony affecting all levels of education, and none expressed unqualified positive support for antiracist multicultural education after Mary Migliardi vacated her temporary chair of governors role. Therefore, Stepford was unable to be certain of its legitimisation as a multiethnic school by its own governing body.

Empirical data analysed here indicates that Loamshire LEA as a community of interest in relation to antiracist multicultural education was mainly concerned to avoid adverse media or political attention that might jeopardise its broad framework of working relationships with all its schools, and to acquire financial resources from central government. Relationships between the schools and their local authority, a more immediate and direct community of interest in their “organisational field” than central government, are also considered in the previous chapter concerned with leadership. Here, empirical research data concerning the LEA’s inspection and administrative roles is analysed and discussed indicating that, in almost every respect other than antiracist multicultural education, they appeared to be well accepted by schools. It was evident that LEA Advisers visiting the schools who were not obliged to mention ‘race’ and cultural diversity did not do so (see p. 212), their “silence” on these issues (Grace, 1995), like central government’s, being construed by individual informants as indicating the LEA’s position on antiracist multicultural education.

Loamshire’s Multicultural Education Adviser’s (my predecessor’s) suggestions that Eastwick and Midwich might adapt their services so that they accorded more precisely with their linguistically and culturally diverse students’ needs, were rejected by their headteachers. Eastwick’s headteacher, Samuel Smart, referred to “members of the community” who felt that “the education provided should not distinguish in any way between members of different groups”, and observed that “Education Officers at County Hall have been very conscious of the sensitivity of all of this and the need to play it down, to keep it low key”. He recalled that “there wasn’t the good, constructive, positive

relationship between those from County (Hall) giving advice, the Advisory section, and the school as there should have been". But these comments referred only to the Multicultural Education Adviser's suggestion that Eastwick "ought to be distinguishing rather more, more positive discrimination" between majority and minority ethnic groups, and Smart "tended to react against that". Richard Gayford, Head of Midwich, also recalled that he

"deliberately didn't go down the path recommended by (Loamshire's Multicultural Education Adviser) and this is where we fell out. I would not tailor the needs to individual groups and, therefore, have some divisiveness in the school [...] There has to be a common denominator there which keeps it general and keeps it on course".

In other words, although Loamshire LEA's position seemed ambiguous, headteachers and schools that understood the reciprocal "constitutive" nature of largely unspoken local rules concerning antiracist multicultural education, and understated its importance, were likely to receive more influential support from the LEA than those who emphasised it.

However, as observed earlier (p.212), the LEA's role was not entirely neutral in matters of 'race' and cultural diversity and, in collaboration with governors, appointed headteachers and senior personnel, with no previous or direct experience of multiethnic schools to Midwich, Stepford and other multiethnic schools'. Whether or not there was any deliberate intention of restricting antiracist multicultural education developments in making these appointments, their effect cannot be ignored. Richard Gayford, certainly regarded his own appointment as Head of multiethnic Midwich as "extraordinary": "It was totally insensitive, the selection process, as though any head would do for any school". In

this instance, the LEA may be seen to have reinforced Stepford's "normal" image through its "constitutive rules" (Scott, 1994, p.61/ Berger and Luckman, 1967, p.64) in defining the nature of the actors chosen to be engaged in "habitualised action" as headteachers of "normal" schools.

Loamshire's Inspectors and Advisers, however, were more likely to inspect, than inspire, antiracist multicultural education developments. At their May, 1990, meeting, Stepford's Head advised his governors that key issues identified in Loamshire LEA's inspection report needed to be addressed. In particular, he referred to the report's recommendation that Stepford should be allocated six additional Section 11 teachers and argued that "Stepford's case for extra Section 11 staff (was) overwhelming". (Headteacher's report to governors; September, 1990).

"The fact that we've put in a bid for six ESOL teachers and the inspectorate thinks it should be sixteen suggests that we are absolutely spot on in our diagnosis of what the needs of our children are, and what we need to support our kids with language deprivation - if I can use that term".

The report also provided ammunition for some teachers who felt they had no responsibility for developing bilingual students' English language learning as part of their subject teaching (p.194) and was at odds with Loamshire LEA's Section 11 monitoring Officer, Marge McCormick's, attempts to persuade Stepford to use the six Section 11 staff to which it was already entitled for the purposes stipulated by Home Office regulations. This kind of inconsistency between the perceptions of one part of the LEA and another also made it possible for individual and group actors at Stepford to exercising discretion strategically (Young, 1981/1983/Scott, 1994, p.75) in relation to antiracist multicultural

education, as discussed in the chapter that follows. Furthermore, in making this particular recommendation, the inspectors missed an opportunity to encourage Stepford to learn about itself (Argyris, 1978) as the multicultural school that it undoubtedly was.

However, had the LEA's inspectors drawn attention to Section 11 staff's misuse at Stepford other working relationships with the school, such as the Community Forum initiative discussed in the last section here (pp. 280-282), might have been jeopardised.

In this instance of Loamshire LEA's first OFSTED style inspection at Stepford, the inspectors were severely compromised by their relationship with the school as advisers, and with their own LEA. If they criticised aspects of schools' antiracist multicultural education about which they were unable to offer constructive or consistent advice, their already flawed credibility in this respect might have been further impaired. Furthermore, if they recommended developments which neither Stepford (or any other Loamtown school) nor Loamshire LEA regarded as consistent with its best long term interests, their working relationships as LEA advisers might be adversely affected in other respects. This kind of dilemma became more common as LEA inspection teams began to tender more regularly for OFSTED inspection contracts, including some in schools in their own LEAs. Indeed, Loamshire LEA inspection team acting for OFSTED again inspected Stepford in 1991, again with little critical reference to 'race' or cultural diversity.

This discussion of Loamshire LEA as a community of interest was consistent with institutional theory as it relates to organisations with loosely coupled relationships between formal structures and the actions for which they have been devised. Meyer and Rowan, (1977, p.342) observe that when "structural elements are only loosely linked to each other and to activities, rules are often violated, decisions are often un-implemented, technologies

are of problematic efficiency, and inspection systems are subverted or rendered so vague as to provide little co-ordination". All of these characteristics were as observable in the LEA's Section 11 administrative, and in its inspection functions, as they were in Stepford in its strategies for securing and using Section 11 funding, and for representing itself for inspection purposes.

Administratively, as broker for Section 11 funding, Loamshire LEA could have insisted that Stepford (and Eastwick and Midwich before) complied with Home Office administrative guidelines concerning institutional antiracist multicultural education policy development and practices affecting Section 11 staff deployment. Reference is made (p. 299/300) to clear recognition by teachers and others at Eastwick, Midwich and Stepford, that Section 11 funding had been misused in all three schools. One of Midwich's Year Heads, for example, observed that

"There's the fact that we haven't been using Section 11 staff as they're meant to be used. Staff have got a lot to answer for that, as well as the Head, you know. Initially Section 11 was used to make life easier for everybody around the school".

Loamshire's Monitoring Officer, Marge McCormick, appointed to her post at about the same time that Stepford opened, explained that, although the LEA was "not happy" that Stepford teachers already holding posts of responsibility were also being paid further responsibility allowances as Section 11 teachers, she could

"understand why they sorted things out like that. Given a staffing situation where they've probably got hundreds of chiefs and no Indians, then, that's the

simplest way for them to do it. I wouldn't think they had the children's needs in the forefront of their minds".

McCormick, like her inspector and adviser colleagues, could only have persevered at risk of jeopardising a much broader range of working relationships between the LEA and Stepford. She described the LEA as dissatisfied with the "compromise" arrangements eventually agreed with Stepford to deploy Section 11 staff "more or less in line with Home Office expectations" by "diluting the five Section 11 teaching posts across thirteen different individuals". Although this was effectively a "strategic choice" (Scott, 1994, p.57) by the LEA, it confirms the relevance of institutional theory in support of data analysis in this section, especially Meyer and Rowan's (1977, p.342) observation that "rules are violated" when loose coupling between and within organisations occurs (see p.262). McCormick concluded, that, "You can't force a Head to do things when you understand why it is that he can't do it" and when she knew that the LEA would be unwilling to apply sanctions to the school.

Stepford's resistance to any development likely to affect its cultural orientations was unyielding to the extent that, as senior Education Department officers apparently recognised, they risked breakdown in their working relationships, or even communication with the school, if they insisted on strict attention to the Home Office's administrative requirements. This was consistent with Ouseley's (1990, p.132) observation that "resistance to fundamental institutional change" involving 'race' and cultural diversity derives as much from within institutions and local authorities as from outside them.

Thus, the “decoupling” of Stepford’s formal organisational arrangements for deploying nominated Section 11 staff, and other action to provide support for ethnic minority group students, can be accounted for by reference to institutional theory. As Tolbert and Zucker (1996, p.179) describe such situations, their formal structures in this respect implied a “Goffmanesque ‘backstage/ frontstage’ definition” which, although giving “no real signals of underlying intention, were useful for presentational purposes”.

The cognitive processes applied by senior managers to these issues of Section 11 funding in each school were entirely consistent with aspects of institutional theory as expressed by Douglas (1986, p.45) in the sense that “the entrenching of an institution is essentially an intellectual process as much as an economic and political one”. However, Stepford’s attempts to gain the highest level of (Section 11) financial resourcing from its environment, and to retain as much discretionary control over its use as possible were evidently motivated by economic and political, as much as intellectual, principles. Institutional theory also anticipates that organisational structures, or parts of them (Pfeffer and Salancik (1978, pp. 197-200), such as Stepford’s Section 11 and formal multicultural education structures, may assume or be invested with symbolic status to satisfy their environment’s expectations of them as reliable recipients of the resources it can provide. Indeed, these symbolic structures can themselves become institutionalised (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). All of this was calculated to maximise Stepford’s financial resources from its external environment whilst reassuring parents, mainly White parents, and other community interests, including Loamshire LEA, that the schools continued to provide a “normal” education despite cultural changes in their student populations.

7.5. Parents

In this section it is argued that parents represent one of the strongest influences on schools' cultural identities and that that influence was unevenly distributed and exercised at Stepford. Two main parent communities of interest were identifiable; White, mainly middle class, conspicuously Christian parents from Eastwick's, and Black, mainly Asian, working class parents from Midwich's, former catchment areas. Comparative analysis of data concerning these two groups attests to the relatively powerful and persistent, normative cultural influences brought to bear on Stepford by White parents whereas Black parents were seen to have little opportunity or apparent wish to exert any kind of influence on its cultural norms and values.

Some coincidence of parent, community and political communities of interest within the schools' combined organisational field was again noted and it was difficult to determine whose interests individuals represented or were influenced by, and whether they were contributing to the organisational field's meaning systems, regulatory processes or governance structures (see figure 2.3, p. 39), or all of these.

Data analysed in this section clearly indicates that all three schools were more concerned to enrol White students than Black students for a number of reasons. Differences between Eastwick's and Midwich's academic successes were seen to be a product of conspicuously different student enrolments, particularly at Sixth Form level, in terms of socio-economic status and ethnicity (see p.154). At Stepford it was perceived that White students would be likely to achieve higher GCSE and Advanced Level examination grades (tables 5.1 - 5.4, pp. 198-202), raising the school's overall academic profile. More White than Black students were likely to continue their education beyond the age of sixteen deriving enhanced, formula funded income in each instance. White students were also seen to be an indicator of Stepford's "normality" in cultural terms, and a basis for attracting more of them. Above all, attracting White students entailed convincing White parents that Stepford was able to provide a "normal" education for their children.

All three headteachers made it clear that they wished to attract more White students to their schools and Herbert Sunderson, Stepford's Headteacher, together with other members of his staff and some governors, was evidently convinced that Stepford's future depended on its ability to attract White students. As he explained in 1989,

"I think that's absolutely crucial. I'm talking more here about White middle class than I am about Asian parents. [...] Now if ever a school needed to get into its community to convince them that there is a special team of teachers that does that anyway, to convince White parents that their children will not be

disadvantaged because their children are learning alongside children with ESOL problems but that is the perception we have to break down".

Donna Claybrook, Stepford's only woman Science teacher recognised that one of her SMT's priorities was to create a good impression when White parents visited the school.

"There's a lot more fuss made of certain people coming into the school than other people. If somebody comes in who is, say, thought of as desirable, they're taken into the school and shown round. But if Asian parents come in that are not of a better class, I would say, they're not shown round the school properly. So there is this different treatment, for whatever reason".

Walter Eberhart, Stepford's Head of Languages, was also critical of minority ethnic group parents' treatment.

"Every morning when there is the likelihood of a parental tour of the school, when the child is White and middle class at any level, it's announced at morning briefing so that we can all put our house in order. But when several children arrive direct from Bangladesh, they're just crept in the back door really. It's 'hold out the flags' for certain students but deal with the others as a minor irritant".

No reference was made to Black students in this respect at Stepford but, by the time it opened, students of African Caribbean origin comprised a minority group among minorities.

What may be recognised from data analysed here are different and unequal structures and strategies in place at Stepford for relating to White and ethnic minority parents as providers of students as resources from the school's immediate environment. There was no evident relationship or coupling between those structures and strategies and, as recognised by informants, the attempts described here to "normalise", or whiten, its student complement comprised a direct contradiction of Stepford's equal opportunities policies and had explicit racist overtones.

7.5.2 Parents' support for their local school

White parents were courted by all the schools, but by Stepford in particular, not only for their children's enrolment but also in their own right, perceived as more effective lobbyists in the school's interests and more able than ethnic minority parents to defend those interests if threatened. Analyses of data from all three schools indicated that it was White parents who actively campaigned on behalf of their children's school whereas Black parents tended to provide more passive support. There was no evidence, however, that ethnic minority parents were invited to join specific action groups or more general working parties

Eastwick and Midwich schools' parent and community support groups had developed over a period of more than a decade before the two schools' merger was proposed, as reference to local newspaper archive materials reveals (p.157). Only five years after it opened, Midwich was nominated for possible closure. White Parents, rather than the governing body chaired by Shaukat Osman or ethnic minority parents, successfully resisted this closure attempt, many of those same parents joining the later campaigns to prevent Midwich being closed in 1987, and to ensure its retention as Stepford's site in 1988.

Parent support for Eastwick was substantial but not conspicuous until it was threatened with closure following Midwich's reprieve. Eastwick's governors seemed to play little part in the school's resistance to closure, but its (White) students' parents waged a vigorous campaign, including High Court action, to preserve Eastwick, then to retain it as Stepford's location when both schools, were closed in July, 1988, and, finally, to agitate for the Eastwick site to remain open as Stepford's Sixth Form site. Historically, therefore, White parents campaigned for the future of their local school whereas ethnic minority parents, if they joined any closure resistance campaigns or movements at all, did so later and less conspicuously.

7.5.3 Parents' involvement in their children's education.

In fact, Eastwick's only attempted involvement of ethnic minority parents occurred when its internal equilibrium, and image and standing in the community at large, seemed threatened by the alleged misbehaviour of a group of Black students at a time when Eastwick had a larger number of "West Indian" than other ethnic minority students.

Samuel Smart recalled that "Amongst those were some boys and girls, but definitely boys,

who turned out to be fairly severe behaviour problems to us and, indeed, to the community as a whole”.

Stepford's Acting Chair of Governors, Mary Migliardi, having worked as a primary school teacher in Midwich's catchment area, had first hand experience of ethnic minority parents' lack of involvement in their children's education.

“A lot of parents were very apologetic about themselves. They would never put forward a point of view about their children's education”.

On the other hand, Stepford's, ESOL specialist observed that ethnic minority parents, though rarely attending parents' meetings or other events at either Midwich or Stepford, had seen Midwich as “their” school.

“It would be a shame if we actually lost that enthusiasm just because it's now called Stepford. I think that there's a very understandable fear on the parents' part to come in (to school)”.

But the Black PE teacher, Harry Crankhart, was critical of

“certain members of the community that can often influence what happens in school - and not always to the good in my opinion. I think the system in the school is fair enough; it's caring enough and I think it should be stuck by”.

Alan Hughes, Stepford's Head of Science, observed that the "one area where we really do fail is in getting the parents involved, particularly the parents of the ethnic community. We desperately need to get out into the community and speak to them, get them to speak to us" and "for every tutor to be involved at that level". Two women members of Stepford's Languages faculty felt that the reasons why so few ethnic minority parents were involved in the life of the school were "very complicated" although neither wanted to be personally involved in trying to resolve them. One of them, Harjinder Kaur, described letters translated into community languages and sent to ethnic minority parents as "a pointless exercise if the parents can't read".

Asked if he could describe any Stepford strategies to involve parents in the life of the school, Herbert Sunderson blamed the failure of any initiatives attempted on ethnic minority students' parents' "equally poor language skills" and their cultural assumptions about the school's sole responsibility for educating their children. Consequently, ethnic minority parents were not seen to be involved in, or directly supportive of, whole school survival campaigns or their own children's education.

Gillborn's (1995) research in three secondary schools revealed that Black and White parents, if sufficiently encouraged and supported, showed interest in, and support for, antiracist policy developments as part of wider social justice developments in their children's schools. The involvement of Black and White parents in their children's education was less marked and indirect, although ethnic minority group representatives contributed to school staff in-service training, but it was not clear that any of these issues or possibilities had been systematically examined at Stepford or either of the other two schools studied here.

7.6 Stepford's relationships with ethnic minority communities

Initially, Stepford made some efforts to communicate with members of all communities served by the school. In the Autumn term, 1989, a promotional video film was made about Stepford. However, the Multicultural Education Co-ordinator complained that he was unable to recognise the school in which he worked.

*"Where were Ajvinder, Arvinder, Balinder, Baljinder [...] and Zahida?
My impression is still of a mainly White school with most close up shots of
White students (usually pretty White girls) doing good middle class things like
playing clarinets or listening carefully to the teacher. I wish to be
disassociated from the video as I consider it an insult to many of our students
and a travesty of what the school stands for".*

When the video was previewed in the community, several older men, mainly from Muslim groups, protested about images of young girls in short PE skirts exposing their limbs. At about the same time, extracts from the school's publicity brochure were issued in Urdu as a booklet which opened "Western" style, from right to left.

These two examples illustrate the dilemma Stepford experienced. Fearful of making mistakes, senior managers relied on their own judgement rather than seeking guidance from governors or members of staff with understanding about local ethnic minority issues, and dealt with potentially sensitive issues (including all those concerned with 'race' and cultural diversity) themselves or delegated responsibility to a very few trusted senior

members of staff. Negative consequences, such as those generated by Stepford's promotional video, confirmed their impressions that issues of 'race' and culture were sensitive or "dangerous". Ike Mazzard, formerly the only General Science teacher at Eastwick, observed shortly after taking up a similar post at Stepford that, "in cultural terms, there were so many land-mines (he'd) be frightened to move". Consequently, most teachers tried to avoid all cross-cultural interactions with adults if possible.

Both Eastwick and Midwich headteachers restricted contact with ethnic minority parents and community groups to a few trusted senior members of staff but, in the Autumn of 1989, Stepford's head proposed a "vertical tutor group" arrangement whereby each form tutor would be involved with a small group of student from the same families. This initiative lasted no more than a term. Several members of staff, including Midwich's former Head of Modern Languages, were clearly ill at ease with those responsibilities and her Head of Faculty, Walter Eberhard, suggested that Stepford's SMT was "frightened of what the tutors might say to the parents. My interpretation is that they'll restrict access (to parents) to as few tutors as possible whom they can control better". Accordingly, Stepford's home/school relations strategy reverted to practices similar to those observed at the former Eastwick and Midwich Schools.

It is probable that Stepford's headteacher, Herbert Sunderson, quickly recognised the relative values of White and Black parents in relation to Stepford's survival. Therefore, whilst not completely neglecting Black parents, he emphasised the importance of attracting and involving more White parents by persuading them that their concept of a "normal" education could be provided for their children despite ethnic minority students being in the majority at Stepford. In other words, he was obliged to relegate his espoused equal

opportunities and antiracist principles, and his desire to involve all his teaching staff in outreach duties, to a lower order of priority in order to ensure that the most valued providers of the environment's resources, White students' parents, were not deterred.

Institutional theory (Meyer and Rowan, 1977) offers little discussion of organisations exercising discretion in choosing between resources or legitimization of different value derived from their environment but this is an issue that was central to Stepford's identity. If "the formal structures of many organisations [.....] dramatically reflect the myths of their institutional environments" (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.340) it can be seen that Stepford mirrored its environment in terms of the perceived relative values of students from different ethnic backgrounds and their parents.

7.7 Parents' attitudes towards 'race' and cultural diversity.

All parents interviewed, or whose views were reported by others, were concerned about their children's socialization or identity formation, some former Eastwick parents being reported by the Chief Inspector, Gordon Zellaby, as anxious that their children would be required to learn Urdu if they enrolled at Stepford. With the exception of Dale Coba, the Black parent governor, no parents were identified with any "innovative, interpretive or re-interpretive" (Scott, 1994, p.57) antiracist multicultural education developments. In most respects, whether they were concerned to preserve, or simply unwilling to alter, the school's wider organisational field's cultural status quo, parents - including ethnic minority group parents - subscribed to and reinforced constitutive and normative rules associated with their perceptions of what a "normal" English education comprised. That

status quo, inevitably, included racist attitudes and behaviours that Stepford could either ignore or confront.

'Race' as an issue affecting social interaction in Loamtown was no more conspicuous or institutionalised (in race relations and institutional theory terms) than in any other multiethnic location but empirical evidence analysed here provides indications of the sensitivity that key actors felt was necessary in educational situations where it was perceived to be operative. This perception was confirmed by Eastwick's Special Needs teacher, Raymond Neff, who observed that

"It wasn't just Eastwick. Eastwick got itself labelled as being a racist school. The fact was, the (LEA) was doing nothing to alleviate this".

Eastwick's deputy headteacher's observation that Samuel Smart would have preferred not to mention "race equality" in his school's curriculum policy statement (p.170) and Stepford's Chair of Governors' hasty intervention at the statutory annual parents' meeting to suppress discussion of racism as a factor affecting enrolments at the new school (p.218), were among numerous examples of 'race' issues evasion in Stepford's organisational field.

But 'race' was a potent factor affecting parents' relationships with, and responses to, the schools. Midwich's Head of Year, subsequently Stepford's woman deputy, described local White parents' negative reactions to Midwich as their neighbourhood school before it was built.

"The natural catchment area should have included Wareham, Wisedale and Dereham (nearby suburban housing developments) but, suddenly, those parents started to dig their heels in and, of course, you do begin to get some of the racist feelings coming in - as we're getting now with the proposed Stepford School".

Given Eastwick's parents' determination to preserve their school, it would have been surprising if their strategy had not included some attempts to discredit Stepford before it opened. Loamshire's Chief Inspector, as Stepford's acting Head before the school's new Head was appointed, expressed concern that his consultative meetings in the Eastwick catchment area had been characterised by "a very deep, latent, racist, highly prejudiced view among parents, and this is coming out in all sorts of ways". Eastwick's Deputy Head experienced similar attitudes when he met the same parents to canvas support for Stepford which

"aroused some hair-raising comments on racial issues which really surprised me. And I thought I understood Loamtown politics pretty well. I hadn't anticipated the depth and explicitness of some of the racism that I encountered there".

There were acrimonious exchanges between the two schools' parent groups, many of them reported in local newspapers. On the one hand, a Midwich parent claimed that, if Midwich merged with Eastwick on the latter's site, Midwich's Black students would be exposed to racism from Eastwick students and parents (contemporary newspaper report,

04.12.86). These remarks were swiftly disowned by both headteachers, but Eastwick's parents insisted that the individual concerned should retract them publicly.

Eastwick parents' main arguments against the merger were the inconvenience of travelling three miles to the Midwich site and assumptions that their children's teachers would be changed. The Chief Inspector reported that several Eastwick parents had said that, if the merger went ahead, they would send their children to The Willows School, ten miles away. He considered this "totally illogical" because, if they went to that school, it would involve complex transport arrangements and all their children's teachers would be different. He suspected, therefore, that "their motives, conscious or unconscious, have been, at least in part, racist in origin in not wanting their children to mix with the children at Midwich - although they would, of course deny this".

Given Eastwick's parents' attitudes reported by the Chief Inspector and Eastwick's deputy, at least some of them might have been expected to remove their children for reasons of Stepford students' cultural mix alone. As Hardy and Vieler-Porter (1992, pp. 106/107) also observed, "Where white parents view multiracial schools as bad no amount of good education will change those choices".

By contrast, it was not evident that Midwich's and Stepford's minority ethnic group parents wished that their children should receive a good education, with or without antiracist multicultural education, differed significantly from those of majority group parents', or that they expressed any dissatisfactions with either Midwich or Stepford as their children's school provided that it was located on the Midwich site. They represented, therefore, a more reliable source of student resources than their White counterparts whilst

requiring no compromise by the school on espoused antiracist multicultural education principles and practices.

It is arguable, therefore, that, since Stepford could do nothing that was likely to change its fundamental multiethnic characteristics, and with no evidence of its willingness to assert its antiracist multicultural policies in the community at large, it might have been better advised to do more to foster relations with its ethnic minority group parents and communities. In this way, it could maximise its student intake from its immediate multi-ethnic surroundings rather than trying to achieve the “Black/White balance” sought by both Midwich’s and Stepford’s headteachers. But this would have required exceptional organisational leadership to ignore “the myths of their institutional environments” (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.340) and assert antiracist multicultural education’s moral imperatives.

7.8 Community College, Community Education and the Community Forum concept.

The relevance of institution theory (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), with its emphasis on resources acquisition and retention, and on maximum organisational discretion concerning their use, was particularly evident in the circumstances surrounding Stepford’s designation as a Community College, and Loamshire LEA’s September, 1990 Community Forum initiatives based on its community colleges. The Chief Inspector hoped that both these developments might help to bring West Loamtown’s disparate community groups together in shared management of local, mainly Stepford based, adult, youth and community education activities. I attended several West Loamtown Community Forum meetings,

observed and made notes about them and gathered further relevant research evidence in the form of agendas and minutes of meetings.

The LEA intended that Community Colleges should attract a broad range of users from their immediate communities and some from further afield. As “facilitators of democratic decision making” (LEA consultation document September, 1990), the LEA expected the Community Colleges’ youth, adult education and community activities to be managed by eclectic committees of lay persons and professionals. Initially, Stepford’s Headteacher assumed a central role, determining the level and nature of his school and community college’s involvement. He expressed concerns about the potential problems of trying to work with the Forum’s executive committee, over which he had no direct control, but which could make decisions affecting premises and activities for which he had ultimate responsibility. It was also evident that his previous responsibilities for a community college in another LEA informed his perception of community education in traditional adult education terms. He withdrew from any personal involvement shortly after the first Forum meeting.

A number of reasons for his response may be advanced by reference to institutional theory. The LEA’s Community Forum encroached on Stepford’s direct control of, and discretion concerning its use of, resources to which it already had unlimited access. Its traditional adult education programme, although deriving valuable income from its surrounding communities, was also under the school’s immediate direction, and capable of expansion at its discretion. Under the new arrangements, Herbert Sunderson would not have control of the Forum’s main decision making body, nor would he be able to influence its membership. The Forum’s activities were not perceived as likely to enhance Stepford’s

resources acquisition from the environment, and would probably detract from its control of its existing resources. For example, it was expected that some of the Forum's proposed activities might specifically encourage ethnic minority involvement at Stepford, raising its profile as a multicultural community college, at some anticipated cost to White, part-time, adult learners and full-time student enrolments.

Stepford's Black Parent Governor, Dale Coba, was elected Forum Chairperson shortly after the initiative began. When it was evident that the LEA's community education experiment was no more likely to succeed at Midwich than elsewhere, one of Stepford's Deputies was introduced as its "facilitator". Subsequently, little was heard of this venture which might have gone some way towards compensating for Stepford's different and unequal relationships with its different communities of interest as a school.

Summary

Central and local government's interests in antiracist multicultural education, discussed in policy and leadership terms in chapters 5 and 6 respectively, were understated and ambiguous offering would-be antiracist multicultural education change agents as much discouragement by what was not stated as by overt opposition. Loamshire LEA's regulatory and administrative roles and its need to maintain working relationships with all its schools in less complex and contentious matters, were seen to be severely compromised by any association with antiracist multicultural education developments.

Local government elected representatives as a community of interest, including some as Stepford governors and parents of students attending the school, demonstrated what one of

relation to not only antiracist multicultural education but also a wide range of other educational issues. Local party political support for Midwich and Stepford as multiethnic schools was divided, Labour councillors generally supporting, and Conservative councillors generally being opposed to, both of them. Teachers and headteachers, therefore, were required to interpret their schools' normative rules and regulatory processes, as represented in the upper levels of Scott's model (1994, p. 57: see figure 2.3, p.39), differently depending on changing political circumstances. This entailed complex interpretations of, and calculations about, the relative but inconsistent strengths of competing values positions often held by different members of the same community of interest.

Neither the physical boundaries and properties of Eastwick's, Midwich's and Stepford's combined organisational field, nor its key communities of interest changed significantly during my fieldwork. Data analysis indicates that Stepford was influenced by certain external communities of interest's to represent itself as a "normal" school rather than as a multiethnic school or a school concerned to develop antiracist multicultural education. This was consistent with Meyer and Rowan's (1977, p.341) observations about the impact of institutional environments on organisations, and about those organisations' need to establish normalising "isomorphic" relationships with their institutional environments in the interests of gaining legitimation for their activities and securing resources to ensure their future.

Stepford's and its predecessors' central dilemma, as already identified in preceding chapters in part 2, was that, on the one hand, overt commitment to antiracist multicultural education was likely to lead to several communities of interest increasing their opposition to the schools' activities, or withdrawing their legitimation of them altogether, negatively

to the schools' activities, or withdrawing their legitimation of them altogether, negatively affecting their opportunities to derive financial, human and political support from the environment. On the other hand, there were legal, moral and educational requirements that all students and their related communities of interest should be dealt with in an even handed way, Furthermore, central government legitimation and resources were only available to Stepford if it had structures and procedures in place to support ethnic minority students, including links between the school and students' parents.

Stepford's attempt to resolve this dilemma entailed creation of parallel institutional structures and procedures representing the school as "normal" to its majority White communities of interest and as "exceptional" in antiracist multicultural education terms for purposes of formal local and central government Section 11 and OFSTED scrutiny. Again, the Goffmanesque frontstage/ backstage representation of "normal" and "exceptional" school models seemed relevant to discussions although, in this instance, both representations were symbolic, with extensive loose coupling between their different formal organisational structures and the purposes for which they had been devised (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.343) Identification of these alternative, symbolic institutional structures and processes within the same organisation, each no more than loosely coupled with their separate "ongoing work activities" (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p. 342) or to each other, for the purposes of relating to different communities of interest, was the key concept to emerge from data analysis in this chapter.

Eastwick's and Midwich's "sedimented" (Meyer et al, 1994, p.21) organisational structures and processes, consistent with shared and taken-for-granted beliefs and practices about institutional environments' expectations of their schools', had been "exteriorised" (Berger and Luckman, 1967) and "transplanted" (Scott, 1994, p.21) at Stepford. Those

schools had also contributed to their organisational field's expectations of them through their compliance with them and constant rationalisation of their activities to make them more consistent with those expectations. Consequently, Herbert Sunderson did not have the "clean slate" for developing antiracist multicultural education that he clearly expected in Stepford as a new school (see p.225).

Strategies were not in place at Stepford to develop relationships between mainly White and ethnic minority group parents or to enable teachers to relate directly to all pupils in their homes and communities. None of the home/school and community relations developments necessary for Stepford to reach out to, respond more positively to and involve ethnic minority group parents in their children's education, other than the deployment of a Community Languages teacher as a community liaison worker, was implemented and sustained. This indicated that second order, if not actually second class, services in these particular respects were provided for ethnic minority parents. Differences in majority and minority ethnic group parents' interests and involvements in their children's schools were mirrored by teacher involvement, White parents and teachers actively combining to support their school in times of adversity but, with the exception of one Black governor, Black parents and teachers offering little more than passive support.

Ethnic minority parent communities of interest seemed unconcerned about how Stepford represented itself culturally provided their children were able to attend the school and gain an education. Consequently, almost exclusive attention was given to impression management to persuade White parents that their children's education would be unimpaired by the presence of ethnic minority students, inconspicuous attempts being made (or being necessary) to attract ethnic minority students. Black and White parents

Increasingly elaborate impression management strategies were adopted to represent Stepford as a “normal” (monocultural) or an “exceptional” (multiethnic) school for different audiences and purposes. However, the combination of new factors negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments, including the ERA’s introduction of open enrolment, and greater emphasis on market forces as a school improvement measure, informed Stepford’s emphasis on its “normal” school facade (Smith & Keith, 1971). But none of this made Stepford’s other, exceptional, antiracist multicultural education facade unnecessary and its “backstage” (Goffman, 1959) presence continued in order to gain Home Office legitimization of its activities as a school qualifying for section 11 funding. Indeed, it could be argued that the presence of the backstage structure made it possible for the frontstage “normal” school to continue unaffected. Consequently, Stepford’s environmentally legitimated “normal” school facade could be seen to be in loose coupled (Weick, 1976/ Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p. 342) relationship with its Home Office legitimated, “exceptional” antiracist multicultural school image.

It seemed probable that racist attitudes in Stepford’s environment were partly responsible for antiracist multicultural education developments’ evasion. Parent and community support for Eastwick and Midwich, including political representations, had been fiercely expressed, often invoking ‘race’ as an issue in support of, or in opposition, to either school. Eastwick parents, in particular were anxious about their children’s socialization and identity formation at multicultural Stepford. These factions and their concerns continued after the schools’ merger, in the form of covert, and occasionally overt and hostile, opposition to Midwich and Stepford as multiethnic schools, and towards any attempts they might make to achieve shared understandings with different communities of interest concerning antiracist multicultural education.

This was partly responsible for the evident tentativeness and circumspection with which Stepford as an institution and most of its teachers viewed antiracist multicultural education as discussed in the chapter that follows. However, racist attitudes were not evident among staff in any of the schools studied and, in this particular respect, Stepford did not seem to reflect attitudes prevalent in its institutional environment. Some students claimed to have experienced racism, in and out of school, but the school had no strategy for formally recognising, monitoring or dealing with those experiences, conveying an impression that it attempted to insulate itself from that aspect of its organisational field, or to de-racialise its experiences in the interests of confirming its “normal” school characteristics.

Institutional theory’s “economic” model (Scott, 1994, p.67) was revealed most clearly in Stepford’s rejection of the Community Education Forum initiative (actually Loamshire LEA’s initiative) which would have diminished its control over, and discretion in relation to, the deployment of its existing resources. At the same time, the Forum’s probable multicultural activities and minority group involvement might have conveyed impressions of Stepford’s cultural orientations that detracted from its attempts to represent itself as a “normal” school. All of this was at odds with the NFER study’s (Weindling and Earley, 1987, p.161) new headteachers’ views that their school should be seen as “belonging to the community” if developments were to be legitimated by it.

Within this complex and shifting organisational field of constraints and opportunities, individuals and communities of interest internal to Stepford were expected to exercise personal and professional discretion in adopting positions in relation ‘race’ and cultural diversity in their school as discussed in the chapter that follows.

Part 2, Chapter 8: Individual Teacher Characteristics:

In this chapter, teachers' individual circumstances and characteristics as a category of factors affecting, and affected by, antiracist multicultural education developments are examined. In the first part, data concerning factors "external" to teachers Woods (1983) their recruitment, allocation to particular roles and responsibilities, and professional development as properties of that category - are presented and analysed largely as constraints on them and on antiracist multicultural education developments.

In the second part, factors "internal" to teachers in terms of their values, attitudes and assumptions are considered as both constraints and opportunities affecting their acceptance or their rejection of antiracist multicultural education developments. Assumptions about Black teachers' attitudes and roles in relation to antiracist multicultural education are specifically examined. The main theoretical foci in this second half of the chapter are on "bounded" or "extended" concepts of individual rationality in institutional theory (Scott and Meyer, 1994) and on individuals' "discretion as a barrier to implementation" (Young, 1981).

Introduction

Lieberman and Miller (1992) focus specifically on the "affective world of the teacher" (p. vii).

"We are uncomfortable with those who see schools as organisations with 'inputs' and 'outputs'; we are weary of any framework that is so abstract it never allows people to become real". (pp. xi/xii)

In this chapter, some of the "real" characteristics and experiences of teachers on whom antiracist multicultural education's implementation at Stepford most crucially depended are examined and discussed as internal communities of interest.

Throughout my fieldwork, Midwich and Stepford experienced diminishing student enrolments so that few new staff of any kind were appointed. Most were anxious about longer term employment prospects in their own school but not confident about opportunities elsewhere. Except when the merger occurred, there were few opportunities for promotion to more senior positions and all of this may have contributed to teachers' attitudes towards antiracist multicultural education, particularly if it seemed likely to have negative effects on perceptions of their school (Hardy and Vieler-Porter, 1992, pp. 106/107) and their career prospects.

8.1 Factors External to Teachers

Woods (1983) draws a distinction between “external” factors that impinge on teachers, perceived as constraints, such as educational legislation, LEA policies and organisational rules, and influences “internal” to teachers, such as commitments, interests and special understandings and abilities, viewed as opportunities. Much of the discussion in the first part of this chapter compares and contrasts the effects of rationalised and normalised (Scott, 1994, p. 34) organisational structures and processes on teachers’ recruitment, selection, deployment and training, whereas the second part is concerned with ways in which teachers might have acted to change those structures and processes as they impacted on antiracist multicultural education developments. These different perspectives are identifiable in the “socialization, identity formation and sanctions” and “interpretation and innovation” dimensions of Scott’s (1994, p.57) layered model (see figure 2.3: page 39).

Given the nature of the schools discussed here, and their headteachers’ espoused theories (Argyris and Schon, 1978) concerning the need to appoint teachers with antiracist multicultural education experience and ethnic minority teachers, data analysis in the first part of this chapter seeks evidence of attempts to recruit, train and deploy teachers to initiate or sustain antiracist multicultural education developments. In other words, contrary to Woods’ (1983) distinction, these external factors could constitute organisational development opportunities rather than constraints. However, there was no evidence that any of the schools viewed them in that way, and other evidence (p.294) indicated that new personnel were not asked about antiracist multicultural education at interview; that teachers nominally responsible for different aspects of antiracist multicultural education had other duties that conflicted with those responsibilities, and that those who identified closely with it felt it had negative consequences for their careers.

Data analysed in the first part of this chapter demonstrates that Stepford's applications of "normal" school teacher recruitment, appointment, deployment and training procedures were, indeed, constraints on schools' and individuals' antiracist multicultural education development. It was also evident that teachers mainly and directly concerned with antiracist multicultural education were part of a backstage (Goffman, 1958) symbolic organisational structure (Scott, 1994, p.68) co-existing with Stepford's more visible "normal" school structure. Within that backstage structure were located most of Stepford's Asian teachers and, for that reason, their contribution to Stepford's antiracist multicultural education developments is considered separately (pp.308-317).

8.1.1 Teacher recruitment

Eastwick's mainly White, grammar school traditions meant that none of its staff, including its ethnic minority group teachers, had been recruited or selected because of their experience and understanding of 'race' equality, cultural diversity or equal opportunities. Samuel Smart, Eastwick's Head, recalled that when he joined the school in April, 1975, "the vast majority of the staff were ex-grammar school staff who had changed, but not substantially, as the school gradually went comprehensive". Eastwick's staff were, effectively, socialised as grammar school teachers and Edward Parsley, Eastwick's Religious Education and Special Needs teacher, said, "I wasn't personally familiar with the patterns of comprehensive schooling".

Recruitment to Midwich was characterised by a combination of "an old pals network", Loamshire LEA's influence on appointments to schools, the headteacher's "poaching" in other secondary schools and his self-confessed "cavalier attitude" towards staffing

generally, but not by any strategy for recruiting experienced multiethnic school, or minority group, teachers. Richard Gayford, recalled that,

"Staffing, when I started out to recruit, there were no well thought out plans. There were, if you like, just gut feelings about what I should do".

During 1978, the year before Midwich opened, Gayford familiarised himself with its catchment area and its feeder schools, and discovered several secondary school teachers re-deployed to middle schools when Loamshire schools were re-organised in 1972. A Loamshire Education Officer persuaded him to appoint some to Midwich. As Gayford said,

"I felt I had to have someone. So there wasn't much option about choosing some but, in fact they proved to be some of the best appointments I ever made. No regrets".

Few Midwich posts were advertised publicly and Gayford assumed that staff he appointed in 1979 were "under no false illusions" about the kind of school they were joining. He described them as "giving such positive signals about it" that no specific questioning about their antiracist multicultural education interests or commitment was necessary. This view was endorsed in March, 1988, by Midwich's Multicultural Education Co-ordinator, Herbert Flagg, when he described his teaching colleagues as being

"aware of the needs of the pupils and their backgrounds. After all, most of them have chosen to be here. I think that's a major difference between

ourselves and the new school, Stepford, where a large number will not have consciously chosen to be working in this school in this way”.

Given that Gayford lacked a “well thought out plan” (p.291) for Midwich, and no specific staff recruitment criteria, it was unclear why he thought the “signals” given by the teachers he appointed were so positive towards Midwich as a multiethnic school. No schools in Loamtown, even Eastwick before Midwich opened, had been as conspicuously multiethnic as Midwich so that it might have been expected to develop a different kind of “identity formation” (Scott, 1994, p.57), with new meaning systems and organisational behaviour patterns. In the event, most teachers, including deputies, were recruited from Loamtown schools, predominantly from Eastwick, so that Midwich’s, subsequently Stepford’s identity formation was more precisely a re-affirmation of the institutional environment’s socialization processes by “infusion” (see figure 2.3, p.39) than by recruitment of staff specifically to respond to the new school’s and its students’ needs.

Dora Leebody, eventually Stepford’s woman Deputy Head, the Science teacher Donna Claybrook, Frank Roddenbury, an English and Drama teacher, and Ed Merrill as a peripatetic Section 11 ESOL teacher, among those interviewed (see tables 3.1, p.103 and 3.4, p.109) had worked in both Eastwick and Midwich.

8.1.2 Teacher appointments

There was no evidence that any of Eastwick’s or Midwich’s teachers, with the exception of the ESOL specialist, Ed Merrill, who was already seconded to Midwich from Loamshire’s peripatetic support team, had been recruited or appointed because of their experience of antiracist multicultural education, or because they were of minority ethnic

group origin. One notable instance, in 1988, of a minority ethnic group teacher not being appointed to a pastoral post for which he was well qualified (pp.309/311) indicated a discrepancy between Midwich's headteacher's espoused theory concerning the need to appoint Black teachers and his observed theory in use. (Argyris and Schon, 1978).

Gayford was observed to appoint teachers who would be in "isomorphic" (Scott, 1994, p.64) relation with their environments, enhancing Midwich's legitimacy in its community. One of those appointments, Wilfred Williams, a Welsh former Head of Physical Education, but Pastoral Head of Fifth Year when interviewed in 1988, exerted an informal organisational and community influence and authority that extended beyond his formally designated role (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, p.30). Part of that influence was derived as a rugby football player and coach, and his membership of a Loamtown community of interest comprising mostly Welsh, male teachers with similar interests. Others taught at Eastwick, some of whom (Warwick Robeson from among those interviewed) joined Stepford at the merger, but Williams demonstrated no qualities that particularly recommended his appointment to Midwich as a multi-ethnic school.

Of all teachers interviewed, only Midwich's Head of Modern Languages, encouraged by initial teacher training experiences in multiethnic schools in Birmingham, mentioned Midwich's multiethnic character as a factor that particularly interested her, but she felt certain that that experience and enthusiasm had not influenced her appointment. Stepford's eventual Science Curriculum Leader, Don Ferrault, began teaching in multi-ethnic schools in South London, but that experience was not discussed at his initial interview or his later interview for the post of Curriculum Manager for Science.

Prior multiethnic school experience was not a necessary qualification for new staff appointed to Stepford. Neither, Herbert Sunderson, its headteacher, or Walter Eberhart, its Head of Languages, nor any of the teachers promoted during my fieldwork period, was asked specifically about antiracist multicultural education. Again, the school's Multicultural Education Co-ordinator felt that "the information sent out about the school makes it very clear what type of school we have and that is as much as you really need to say".

Walter Eberhart, had less experience of multiethnic schools than any of his immediate colleagues although his job description included line management responsibility for Community Languages teachers. "So I did quite a lot of research and reading before the interview and I was surprised that it didn't form a much more prominent part of the interview; in fact I wasn't asked at all."

Data analysis conveyed a clear impression that, if criteria specifically concerned with Stepford's multiethnic character existed for the appointment of Stepford staff, or the allocation of Eastwick and Midwich teachers to Stepford posts at the time of the merger, they were not applied. The even-handedness with which senior posts were distributed between the former schools' senior post holders suggested that antiracist multicultural education experience was not a major influence affecting that process. All posts with specific responsibility for antiracist multicultural education were allocated to former Midwich personnel because no Eastwick teachers expressed interest in them.

8.1.3 Teacher deployment

All teachers' antiracist multicultural education roles and responsibilities, the deployment of teachers with specific antiracist multicultural education responsibilities, and designated Section 11 teacher activities, are compared and contrasted under this heading. The "loose-coupled" (Weick, 1976/ Tolbert and Zucker, 1996), symbolic (Scott, 1994) and inconsistent nature of the schools' formal antiracist multicultural education organisational structures, suggested that they were neither "real signals of underlying intent", nor intended to deploy teachers to fulfil antiracist multicultural education purposes implied in school policies or by their formal organisational roles. In most instances, these designations were perceived to be for "presentation purposes" only. (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.178)

8.1.3 (i) "Mainstream" teachers.

Most Eastwick teachers expected that student needs arising from their cultural or linguistic differences would be addressed by what Samuel Smart, their headteacher, described as "help from outside" including ethnic minority community group representatives and Loamshire LEA's peripatetic Section 11 team. Eastwick's own Section 11 teachers, Edward Parsley and Raymond Neff, were mainly responsible for Special Educational Needs support with which ethnic minority students' needs were identified. Midwich's Special Needs Co-ordinator, drawing on her experience of liaising with Parsley and Neff prior to the merger, observed that Eastwick's banding system according to anticipated examination successes meant that subject specialist teachers experiencing difficulty in teaching bilingual students to that standard referred them to the Special Needs unit.

"That, to me, is de-skilling those teachers; those teachers are losing the skills of coping with an upset or some kind of deviation. They have quite specific norms which they expect for every lesson, and if anybody (any student) deviates from the norm, they find themselves in the Nest".

It also disadvantaged students by preventing their access to a higher level of curriculum access than would have been possible if their English language development had been guided and supported in mainstream classes, ideally by the class teacher.

Furthermore, the few Eastwick teachers who demonstrated any interest or ability in teaching ESOL learners found themselves responsible for classes in which they occurred in increasingly large numbers. Eastwick's Special Needs teacher observed that "These teachers were then identified by the rest of the staff and management as being 'good with that lot' and so they got them all the time". But this meant that

"There were increasingly too many staff who needed to be protected and, therefore, the burden of teaching groups which had larger percentages of ethnic minority pupils fell upon an increasingly small number of staff and they weren't enjoying it one little bit. And their responses, in some cases, deteriorated, and some made very strong attempts to get away from this label that had been hung round their necks".

Midwich's main provision for ESOL learners was made by someone regarded as an "outsider", Ed Merrill, then a peripatetic Section 11 teacher. In December, 1988, Merrill himself said of his Midwich experience, "I always had the problem of not actually being a teacher in the school so I'd never felt 100% involved in the school".

Harry Crankhart, Midwich's Black PE teacher, had felt there was

"no real emphasis on special help for ESOL learners. There was help in the special needs area, I know the remedial area was quite strong. It was all of a conglomeration really",

and this "conglomeration" continued at Stepford as discussed in the next two sections concerning Section 11 teachers and Special Needs teachers as only two of several student support systems that existed at Stepford during the period of my field work.

In pastoral terms, Midwich's headteacher had accepted a welfare worker attached to one its feeder primary schools "as a gift" from Loamshire LEA to support ethnic minority students and their families. Interview data testifies to this person's knowledge, sensitivity and integrity, but his appointment meant that other members of Midwich's staff needed to know little about these issues. This kind of arrangement continued at Stepford, through the deployment of a community languages teacher on ethnic minority community liaison duties, albeit less satisfactorily (see p.310), so that most of its teachers had little direct contact with ethnic minority students and their parents in their communities. Stepford's Yvonne Weisgalt made a visit to an Asian students' home to discuss a foreign languages exchange but "wouldn't want it to be seen as part of (her) role as form tutor, for example, to make a lot of home visits. It's the Head of Year's role or the EWO's".

8.1.3 (ii) Section 11 teachers

Eastwick 's two full-time Section 11 teachers in 1988, Raymond Neff and Edward Parsley (although neither of them knew at the time that they were), were not deployed solely in support of ethnic minority students spending most of their time as Special Needs teachers with any pupils deemed to have learning difficulties. Their Special Needs "Nest" had become, in Neff's words "a dumping ground for all sorts of things" including several West Indian boys described as "a behaviour problem".

At Midwich, Wilfred Williams also recalled that "initially Section 11 was used to make life easier for everyone around (Midwich) School" but it was also observed that Section 11 personnel were used as subject teachers to allow subject specialists to teach Advanced Level examination classes. In practice, only Ed Merrill, the ESOL specialist teacher, whilst still a member of Loamshire's peripatetic ESOL support team, had a full timetable of bilingual student support at Midwich. Merrill taught one group of first stage ESOL learners at Midwich for a substantial part of the timetable and it became "very difficult to move them on. [...] They quite liked it because it was safe".

It was not until December, 1988 that his post was declared permanent but, thereafter, his organisational image as someone separate from Stepford's "normal" staff lingered on. The misuse of Section 11 financial resources also continued at Stepford, although in different ways, nonetheless indicating the school's senior management team's (and, almost certainly Loamshire Education Department officers' and Stepford Governors') perception that their use ought to be more discretionary than Home Office administrative guidelines permitted.

When Stepford opened, none of the designated full and part-time Section 11 teachers had job descriptions as such and Marge McCormick was unable to persuade Stepford's Head to separate Section 11 support from more general Special Needs support or to locate it in mainstream classrooms. McCormick observed that Stepford viewed its Section 11 staff as "just there to make the classes smaller which makes life easier".

One of Stepford's Head's main problems shortly after taking up his post was to fit Stepford's inherited over-staffing into the LEA's recommended staffing levels for the school, compounded by the need to nominate some personnel as Section 11 teachers. He described LEA officers' demands in this respect as "unrealistic" but even Ed Merrill, Stepford's Section 11 funded ESOL specialist, was not "absolutely sure" who Stepford's other Section 11 teachers were.

The LEA's Monitoring Officer believed that Stepford's ethnic minority student support was not effective because senior staff responsibility allowances were being subsidised by Section 11 funding. The Multicultural Education Co-ordinator occupied a 'D' allowance post of responsibility as Head of Geography, but Section 11 funding for "Cross curricular co-ordination in terms of monitoring and statistical returns" actually paid for the addition to his "Main Professional Grade" salary. The Head of Mathematics' 'E' allowance was paid from Section 11 funds for taking responsibility for a locally assessed alternative mathematics scheme studied by some ESOL learners, and a senior Mathematics teacher's 'D' allowance was awarded because of her "work experience and careers support for ethnic minority students". Another teacher gained a 'C' allowance for co-ordinating ethnic minority student participation in one year Sixth Form courses for which another member of staff already received an allowance.

From this, Marge McCormick deduced that

"If they're running departments, they haven't got time to do appropriate and adequate Section 11 support. Given a staffing situation where they've probably got hundreds of Chiefs and no Indians, then, that's the simplest way for them to do it but I wouldn't think they had the children's needs in the forefront of their minds".

Therefore, the uses and misuses of Section 11 teachers at Stepford differed very little from practices at either Eastwick or Midwich, their designated roles having little bearing on the duties they actually performed and this arrangement was perceived to be entirely normal. However, ESOL support services actually provided at Stepford and its predecessors were not recognised by most informants to be part of those schools' "normal" formal organisational structure. In other words, Section 11 activity at all three schools was part of a "backstage" performance largely disregarded by most persons associated with the schools.

8.1.3 (iii) Teachers with specific antiracist multicultural education responsibilities

Four Stepford teachers, all previously Midwich personnel, had responsibilities bearing on two of antiracist multicultural education's main functions, equality of opportunity and multicultural education: Alan Hughes (Head of Science and Equal Opportunities), Herbert Flagg (Curriculum Area Manager for Geography and Multicultural Education Co-ordinator), Ed Merrill (full-time Section 11 ESOL teacher) and Sue Rougemont (full time Special Needs Co-ordinator) (see table 3.4, p.109).

Consequently, very little changed in the ways in which the individual post-holders carried out their duties, their effectiveness in those roles was not enhanced and none of them, or any other post-holder, had responsibility for opposition to racism. None of them had time at either Midwich or Stepford to develop antiracist multicultural education from the perspectives of their particular responsibilities (see pp. 239-242); Alan Hughes, although Midwich's Head of Science, was also a designated Section 11 teacher for 0.4 of his working week and Equal Opportunities Co-ordinator, whilst Herbert Flagg was Head of Humanities but also Multicultural Education Co-ordinator. At Stepford, in April, 1989, Flagg expressed evident frustration with his continuing inability to devote any time to his Multicultural Education Co-ordinator's role. "I have the same full time-table as any other curriculum subject leader and with split site working, three different GCSE syllabuses, and an A level syllabus with 27 candidates taking exams so, with course work, there's no time".

Overall, the deployment of these specialist teachers in both Midwich and Stepford was characterised by loose coupling between designated and actual responsibilities, with "symbolic" roles and structures (Meyer and Rowan, 1977) preserving their responsibility allowances. In addition, Stepford's Multicultural Co-ordinator, was not involved in the Section 11 training for which I was responsible, and received little information about it from his SMT, suggesting that his SMT did not want him to be too directly involved or that he preferred to distance himself from it. What none of the structures and roles discussed here actually achieved was a coherent, consistent and sustained framework of antiracist multicultural education activity as a normal part of Stepford's structures and processes.

8.1.4 Teacher Training

In this section, Stepford's teachers' perceptions of the need for antiracist multicultural education training, responses to that need, and their effectiveness are compared and contrasted. The training actually provided was perceived by the participant teachers to be different from what they needed, and there was no evident link between that training and policy documents or school development plans. In other words, antiracist multicultural education training, to a considerable extent, was a "facade" (Smith and Keith, 1971), necessary to satisfy LEA and Home Office scrutiny but not intended to change the ways in which Stepford normally operated.

8.1.4 (i) Training Needs.

Eastwick's Head felt that, at the time when it had its largest numbers of ethnic minority students, the school had "shown a willingness to find out more" about, for example, cultural differences between Asian groups in the community. "There were a lot of (minority group) individuals in the community willing to give their services, but I don't remember there being a very great deal of push from outside (from parents and the LEA) on this", so it did not occur. In other words, training of that kind was unnecessary to secure Eastwick's legitimization of its activities with its immediate environment. All three Stepford teachers with specific antiracist multicultural education responsibilities remarked upon their former Eastwick colleagues' "normal" teaching and learning expectations with which Stepford's minority ethnic group students were unable to comply. Alan Hughes, was concerned that Ex-Eastwick Science teachers could not teach from either an "Integrated Science", a mixed ability (including ESOL learners) or a multicultural perspective without

guidance from specially prepared teaching materials. Many of his new colleagues were "covering up feelings of helplessness" about their inability to make the "fundamental changes to classroom practice" necessary at Stepford.

In 1988, Midwich's Science Faculty was the only one that had provided INSET and related curriculum development to address ESOL learners' needs. Working with Ed' Merrill, Science teachers planned specimen lessons, and taught them with him, demonstrating relationships between ESOL and Science specialists' roles. All Midwich teachers interviewed in the first research phase saw a need for whole school antiracist multicultural education training but the school's Multicultural Education Co-ordinator felt that, although his colleagues understood their ethnic minority students' needs, they needed practical training (Lieberman & Miller, 1992) to respond effectively to them. Hughes' eventual successor as Science Curriculum Leader, Don Ferrault, observed that most of his colleagues needed to change their teaching approaches because "outside (Section 11) support could not be a long term goal".

However, "Section 11" training at Stepford in 1989 and 1990, for which I was responsible, was not provided because of these internal analyses of need, but because it was externally required to comply with Home Office regulations for the administration of Section 11 funding.

8.1.4 (ii) Training responses

The Section 11 training (pp. 213) that commenced in February, 1989 offered an antiracist multicultural education whole school development opportunity. As many Stepford personnel as possible were to be involved in planning and delivering it in order to

confer "ownership" on them (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, pp. 24/26/ Fullan,1982) of any developments arising from it. It was also intended that every teacher, including Stepford's senior management team, not only Section 11 staff, would participate in it with no assumptions being made about their understanding or experience. However, key personnel such as Stepford's Multicultural Education Co-ordinator were not involved (see pp.240 and 302) and Stepford's SMT insisted that it should only be concerned with "consciousness raising" which would not necessarily affect the schools existing practices. Therefore, it did little to address teachers' needs for practical classroom and pastoral skills.

8.1.4.(iii) Training outcomes.

Each Stepford Section 11 staff training "unit" was evaluated, 33 participants submitting written comments, and I prepared occasional reports for different audiences, including Stepford's SMT. Most of the following is derived from my final, composite report (August, 1990). Although the training programme was overtly welcomed by most participants, some adverse comments were made about its "participative, experiential, discussion-based" approaches. One participant observed that

"a number of teachers find open-ended INSET difficult to handle - especially if they are indifferent or hostile to the subject in hand. I would be inclined to go for 'expert-led' sessions with set tasks built in. Certainly, a definite statement of (antiracist multicultural education) objectives would be of benefit".

These comments suggested that participants did not perceive the training to be related to Stepford's policy document. Other participants felt that the training was constrained by their SMT's limited interpretation of its "consciousness raising" purposes, as one participant observed in his evaluation.

"I was expecting the promotion of a broad acceptance of ideas and beliefs from diverse cultures. I think we only received this to the degree which would be acceptable to our school management".

Stepford's Head was unable to identify any other antiracist multicultural education training and observed that,

"We've managed to cope with it far more successfully than we might have thought in the first place. It's gone extremely well if not controversially on occasions but who minds the controversy if the students at the end of the day are getting a fair crack of the whip?"

The Head's surprise and relief that Stepford had "managed to cope" with the training, and avoid controversy, could not conceal the fact that it had made no discernible difference to the ways in which most of the participants, and the organisation as a whole, responded to issues of 'race' and cultural diversity. However, it served Stepford's purposes in satisfying LEA and Home Office Section 11 administrative criteria without Stepford's SMT being seen to be directly responsible for it.

The Languages Faculty Head recognised that the training had been

"The major plank of training in the school. Unfortunately in a sense.

Fortunate to have your expertise but unfortunate because it's been a little bit marginalised by that".

He suggested that the training needed "somebody like the Multicultural Education Co-ordinator, or preferably somebody with senior management status, to be the co-ordinator". In other words, the training was not seen as part of the school's normal activities, and was not necessarily seen to have implications for all teachers.

The Science Faculty's multicultural Science curriculum materials project and its related collaborative ESOL training had been more successful in changing teachers' behaviour at that organisational level. Teacher training as a management of change strategy, therefore, was seen to be most effective when a faculty leader was responsible for it, relating it directly to teachers' daily occupations and enabling them to recognise its practical value, and immediate classroom applications.

This was a different matter from teachers' recognising antiracist multicultural education's relevance for the school as a whole, as intended by the Section 11 training programmes, but that issue was not generally in dispute. However, the training implied fundamental changes to "sedimented" (Scott, 1994, p.57) whole school and teacher beliefs and practices within a wider environment that was largely unreceptive to antiracist multicultural education. A significant difference may have been, therefore, that the Science faculty's training's practical applications "fitted into the existing rhythms of the school" (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, pp. 5-7), being expressed through curriculum and pastoral systems and resources then in place.

Teachers may also have calculated that adoption of the Section 11 training's implications would have impaired their individual professional, organisational and, possibly, organisational legitimacy (Scott, 1994, p.54). Ike Mazzard, the former Eastwick Science teacher, recognised that Stepford's adoption of the training's implications would have negative consequences for student enrolments and, thereby, individual teachers' immediate livelihoods.

The Head of Languages was not surprised that Stepford's SMT had distanced itself from the training. "I think it's been happy to off-load, in a sense, the Section 11 label to you and to do the Pontius Pilate job". This comment succinctly expresses findings from elsewhere in my research. For example, individual teachers deferred their responsibilities for ESOL learners to anyone rather than teaching them in their own classroom (p. 296).

Informants at both Eastwick and Midwich identified their need for antiracist multicultural education training to equip them to work effectively at Stepford and a substantial effort was made to provide it, but the school's SMT so constrained the nature of that training that it was perceived not to be what was wanted, and was ineffective. Indeed, it was as "symbolic" (Scott, 1994, p.68) as the organisational and structural arrangements for the deployment of designated antiracist multicultural education staff and was an example of what Schon (1971), Bush (1989) and Senge (1992) have all recognised as great effort being expended in order to change nothing at all, or what Argyris (1992, p.102) describes as an "organisational defensive routine".

8.1.5 Ethnic Minority teachers.

Black and Asian teachers' recruitment, retention, deployment and career development are discussed separately in this section providing concentrated evidence of discrepancies between the schools' espoused theories concerning their potential contribution to antiracist multicultural education developments, and the schools' theories in use. This section also reveals several examples of these teachers being racially disadvantaged by assumptions about their ethnicity, interests and abilities that might be dismissed as isolated examples if discussed separately.

All three headteachers and a Black governor argued that antiracist multicultural education developments were most likely to be furthered by the appointment of more minority ethnic group teachers. Eastwick's Head, Samuel Smart, declared himself "very conscious that the school had not had "the proportion of ethnic minority groups (as staff) that we've had in the school amongst the pupils". He perceived this to be "purely a reflection of not having the applicants. "We've had people from Asian backgrounds but I cannot think of somebody from a West Indian background ever applying". This statement may have been strictly accurate but he was evidently unaware that, Jo Marino, his Head of Biology, of Asian appearance, was of Caribbean origin.

When Richard Gayford began the task of recruiting staff to the new Midwich School in 1978, he had hoped to appoint "a mixture of Black and White teachers in a reasonable sort of balance" but he was "disappointed" not to succeed. Why he wanted to achieve this "balance" is unclear given his statements that he did not initially regard Midwich's

multiethnic character to be significant (p.222). Again, he sought the advice of an experienced secondary school headteacher in Loamtown who told him,

"Your Black teachers, if you can get them - and you won't get many - don't put them pastorally. You'll have problems if you do. Because if you have an Asian teacher, whether they're Indian or Pakistani, will colour....influence the relationships he's able to make. Really, pastorally, you're better off with White. Get your Blacks into other jobs".

In 1987, A Bengali teacher applied for a Midwich Head of Year post and was interviewed but not appointed. Although the applicant had good references from the London school at which the Head himself had once taught, Gayford sought "outside" advice from two of his "high caste" Asian governors, one of whom, he said, made disparaging remarks about Bengalis.

"He'd have been a very good appointment but I took this advice and whether I was right or wrong I'll never know. He's the only (Black) person who's applied for a senior post in my school".

This incident comprises so many inherent inconsistencies and contradictions that, in my judgement (in my first research interview, in February, 1988) it might have offended the headteacher, and jeopardised my further research access, to question them too closely. It suggested, for example, that Gayford did not make all his appointments in "cavalier" manner (p. 291), relying only on his own "gut reaction". It was also inconsistent with his espoused theory (Argyris and Schon, 1978) of appointing "a balance" of Black and White teachers to Midwich. It certainly begs questions about what kind of pastoral emphasis

Gayford wanted for Midwich if it excluded minority ethnic group personnel in that capacity. It could be interpreted simply as the actions of a new head following the advice of governors representative of the community served. Alternatively, Gayford may have been aware of possible negative reactions from White parents, and questions about Midwich's pastoral structure's "legitimacy" (Scott and Meyer, 1994), if an Asian Year Head called at their home to discuss their child.

Midwich's Black PE teacher, Harry Crankhart, was appointed, not through a formal staff recruitment and selection process, but on the strength of his rugby football contacts with Wilfred Williams:

*"I had never met the Head or any of the other members of his staff at all.
But I knew Wilfred because he taught my brother and I used to go along to
Saturday morning matches. We played together a bit".*

But he was confident he had been appointed to the school

*"as a PE man and nothing else. At the time, I was under no illusion that I
was going to get more of a chance because I was Black - or less of a chance".*

Stepford's governing body inherited Midwich's problematic legacy of Black teacher appointments at its first meeting in October, 1988, one of its first agenda items being "procedures for the appointment of teaching staff". This referred to an employment tribunal complaint by the unsuccessful Asian applicant for the pastoral post discussed above (p.307) who was told he was "over-qualified". Stepford's Black parent Governor,

however, continued to emphasise the importance of appointing Black teachers to Stepford's staff and, at the same meeting, argued that

"If you had a representative mix of teachers, there wouldn't be any problems. Obviously the presence of Black teachers in the school would encourage change, would encourage the permeation of the school curriculum with multicultural issues - provided these Black teachers are aware of the issues".

Stepford's new headteacher stated that it was his own, and his governors', ambition to have

"a suitable proportion of staff representing our proportional numbers within the school. The difficulty has been trying to find suitably qualified staff to take up those positions. Where those staff have come forward we have always interviewed them"

but also stated that his attempts to recruit ethnic minority group teachers to Stepford would be no different from the way he approached any appointments. The "difficulty" of an insufficient supply of "suitably qualified ethnic minority group teachers" was perceived as residing with those teachers themselves for not applying for jobs at Stepford, rather than with the school's lack of specific measures to recruit them. Sunderson's comments evoked comparison with Richard Gayford's (p.309) and Samuel Smart's (p.308) earlier comments. This consistency of expression was indicative of a rationalised organisational "myth" (Meyer and Rowan, 1977) about Black teachers' disinterest in multiethnic schools and

served to distract attention from the lack of any sustained attempt to recruit ethnic minority teachers. As such, it may be recognised as another characteristic of the “normal” school.

Stepford’s eventual Science Curriculum Leader, Don Ferrault, was unaware of any attempts to attract appropriately qualified and experienced (particularly ethnic minority group) staff, to retain them and deploy them strategically. “I don’t know whether it’s a factor in the selection of staff. I would guess that it’s not”.

Stepford experienced diminishing student recruitment during the period immediately prior to and during my fieldwork, and its retention of existing, expensively salaried, White, senior teachers made it unlikely that more minority ethnic group teachers (or, indeed, any other new teachers) would be appointed. It might be argued, therefore, that the school’s more pressing need was to retain those Black teachers it already had. However, by the time my fieldwork was completed, the Black Science teacher, Jo Marino, was the only one remaining at Stepford from the former Eastwick and Midwich schools.

Rather than join the new Stepford school, Ranjana Rushton requested a transfer to one of Stepford’s feeder middle schools as a History teacher. She had become disillusioned by Midwich’s SMT’s apparent lack of understanding about minority ethnic group students and their needs, and her role in responding to them (p.316). She was also unwilling to work with Eastwick’s teachers because of

“feedback from other members of staff about the comments they made going round Midwich (prior to the merger), especially in the language area.

Course, there’s displays up in Urdu and Punjabi. Comments were passed that were downright racist”.

Harry Crankhart also moved to a Head of Year post in a London school in 1989 but Herbert Flagg had no perception that these colleagues had left Stepford frustrated by their negative experiences and lack of career prospects and assumed that

"People move for a variety of reasons, and where and when they move is simply a matter of where the opportunity arises. I don't think you can draw conclusions actually from how people make their moves".

The likelihood of Black teachers being promoted to positions of responsibility at Stepford or either of its predecessors was dismissed by Eastwick's Black Science teacher, Jo Marino, with undisguised reference to his own experience. "Even when a Black teacher is appointed to the staff, their culture and background is entirely misunderstood". An Eastwick Year Head had been deployed by his Head to establish links with Loamtown's West Indian communities but there had been no recognition of Marino's potential contribution or, if there had been, it was ignored. He described the Head of Year's surprise on meeting him at Loamtown's West Indian Club,

"To him, a West Indian was someone with curly hair. He couldn't accept the fact that I was a West Indian. He knew nothing of Chinese or Indians or Portuguese or English who came from the West Indies. And he's the person who became Deputy Head of Midwich School, you see, which is disgraceful".

It was possible that Eastwick's Head also thought that Marino was from the Indian sub-continent. When Asian dignitaries were invited to address assemblies, he was asked to

escort them, but not West Indian visitors. However, parents were aware of his cultural heritage because, as Marino explained, at parents' evenings,

"A lot of West Indians were coming to me and we would chat a lot. For them, I was a source of enlightenment about how the system worked, advising them about their children's education".

All of this was entirely consistent with McCarthy and Webb's (1990, p.10) observations that the talents of women and minority groups are under-utilised in these and other kinds of leadership roles, but this was seen to continue at Stepford.

However, it could not be assumed that ethnic minority teachers were either interested in, or informed about, antiracist multicultural education. Midwich's Black PE teacher, Harry Crankhart, recommended training for all teachers, including himself, concerned with "practical" issues.

"When I came here, I had no knowledge at all of any of the Asian cultures, and I was like any other member of staff. I found things difficult. Even the pronunciation of (Asian) names was strange for me".

Ranjana Rushton joined Midwich as a History teacher but spent most of her time with ESOL learners. Although, she had no previous experience or qualifications as an ESOL teacher.

"I'm History trained. I think the (SMT) idea was that, because I'm Indian, I could do ESL. The fact that the students spoke Bengali and I spoke Punjabi, and we couldn't communicate except with certain words, I don't think that crossed anybody's mind to be honest".

Harjinder Kaur, as well qualified as any member staff to teach Science, taught Punjabi although, occasionally, she supported ESOL students in Science lessons. She knew nothing about Stepford's antiracist multicultural education policies but felt that "it came naturally to her being coloured". She welcomed ethnic minority students' responses to her own ethnicity but was frustrated in her attempts to be recognised as a Science teacher when teaching in the Science faculty, instead of a Punjabi teacher whatever she taught. Nonetheless, she recommended the appointment of more "coloured" teachers and viewed her Urdu teacher colleague's deployment on school/home liaison duties (see p.201) positively. However, the Drama teacher, Frank Roddenbury, doubted his suitability in that role.

"I think sometimes they have a different view of what teaching should be. You wonder if your caring attitude is being translated in the way you want it to be; whether that doesn't come as more of a disciplinary approach rather than a caring approach. And I don't know how much respect they have in their own communities, either".

These examples suggest that the schools' managers' perceptions of how ethnic minority student related issues might be addressed were essentially separate and compensatory (see James, 1980: figure 2.1, p.11), moving little beyond deploying ethnic minority teachers for ethnic minority student support purposes, whilst whole school 'race'

and cultural diversity issues were addressed by a senior member of staff, regardless of their previous experience or understanding.

All of this section's discussion refers to circumstances that had begun much earlier, when more choice about staffing had been available to both Eastwick and Midwich. But they persisted for at least ten years characterised by no obvious or sustained attempts by either school to recruit ethnic minority teachers. Whilst there was no confirming evidence of racial discrimination experienced by Black teachers, the cultural experiences and insights that they might have brought to bear on their school's work were either not recognised, wrongly attributed or were ignored. Assumptions were also made about their interests in, and skills associated with, aspects of antiracist multicultural education, with negative consequences for their career development in some instances.

Empirical evidence examined in this first part of this chapter indicates that factors external to teachers that might have been perceived as opportunities to change and develop Stepford's "normal" school structures and procedures were, in fact, constraints. Teachers were aware that antiracist multicultural education did not figure prominently in central government's or Loamshire LEA's agendas, and that its leadership in their own school, particularly from their headteacher, was uncertain and ambiguous. Therefore, ways in which schools and teachers were managed, what was done "externally" to and with them, to develop or deter antiracist multicultural education, was likely to be as important as any factors internal to teachers, such as their motivation, commitment or special insights which are discussed in the second part of this chapter. Analyses of data concerned with factors both external and internal to teachers are compared and contrasted in summary form at the end of this chapter.

8.2 Factors Internal to Teachers

Introduction: Teachers' assumptive worlds

Data analysed in the first part of this chapter suggested that individual teachers had little opportunity to exercise individual discretion in relation to antiracist multicultural education. Most were constrained by organisational structures and processes, and by environmental circumstances and expectations, as external factors, not to identify closely with it. Few had sufficient autonomy to give practical expression to any antiracist multicultural education commitments they might have. Nonetheless, factors internal to teachers, as discussed in this second part of the chapter, might have offered better grounds for optimism that antiracist multicultural education developments could occur.

Woods (1983) identification of influences "internal" to individual teachers includes their commitments, interests and special understandings and abilities, perceived mainly as opportunities. To this list must be added values, although the extent to which they represented opportunities or constraints for different individual teachers in different circumstances discussed here is problematic. Young (1977, p.1) observes, "value analysis is without doubt a theoretical and methodological minefield", not least in the range of meanings attributable to the term. Williams, in Rose (1969, p. 269), asserts that "teachers see their role as putting over a certain set of values (Christian), a code of behaviour (middle class) and job aspirations in which white collar jobs have much higher prestige than manual" but, as Young (1981, p.42) also argues, "any acceptable term for the subjective attributes which actors bring to the policy implementation process must necessarily cover a wider range of meaning than the familiar 'values', 'perception' or 'belief'. He proposed, therefore, "the framework for conceptualising a person's total subjective experience as his 'assumptive world'", and comprising different "elements" as

discussed earlier (figure 2.6, p.68). For example, the “cognitive” elements of teachers’ assumptive worlds may be examined in terms of what they knew and understood about antiracist multicultural education, their “affective” elements may be recognised in the professional attitudes and values acquired towards it, their “cathectic” in the extent to which they felt able to relate to its development, and their “directive” in their actions through those developments to affect their assumptive world.

8.2.1. Cognitive elements of teachers’ assumptive worlds.

Indications of teachers’ knowledge about the communities from which their pupils were drawn, about antiracist multicultural education and about its implications for their work - in other words, the “facticity” of their worlds - are given in earlier discussions (pp.302-303) of teachers’ training needs.

Eastwick’s Head felt that his teachers had been willing to learn about the communities the school served but that there had been little pressure from parents or the LEA for them to do so. Richard Gayford felt that all staff appointed to Midwich knew beforehand what kind of school it was (implying that knowing that Midwich was a multiethnic school was all that was needed to be able to teach in it) but Herbert Flagg, Midwich’s Multicultural Education Co-ordinator observed that, although his colleagues understood their minority ethnic group students’ needs, they lacked practical expertise in responding to them. Ranjana Rushton, was sure that her colleagues needed better understanding of pupils’ religious backgrounds, how their names were pronounced, and other basic information, whereas Harry Crankhart frankly admitted that he had “no knowledge at all” about the cultural background of any of the Asian pupils he taught before he went to Midwich. He

was particularly anxious about being unable to convey safety instructions to “first stage ESOL learners” in the gym.

“Because dangerous situations like gymnastics, trampolining, if they don’t understand instructions, they can get into trouble. I did ask that we have assistance with learning safety terms (in community languages) but we couldn’t find someone to come in and do the teaching”.

The reason given for not proceeding with this community languages training for staff seems curious given that, at that time, Midwich had visiting community languages teachers working with pupils, and bilingual governors and parents of children at the school.

Alan Hughes felt that the progress made at Midwich in improving some mainstream teachers’ understanding of their minority ethnic group students’ needs, and ways of responding to them, had taken “a step backwards” when former Eastwick teachers were incorporated into his Stepford faculty. They represented “a whole group of people who were not aware and, in some cases, didn’t want to be made aware of (Stepford’s) multicultural nature”. He summed up their approach to minority ethnic group students as being “If I treat them all the same, as White middle class, it’ll be all right, there’ll be no problems”. In June, 1990, he felt that that attitude still prevailed at Stepford. Ike Mazzard, for example, formerly a Biology teacher at Eastwick, said

"I think I can honestly say I never stopped and counted them (ethnic minority students), and put them into separate groups. This is how I always work. To me they were young people who were there to be taught".

His former Eastwick colleague, David Markowe observed that, "For different members of staff (antiracist multicultural education) means different things, because of their own personal position or whatever, and in that sense we haven't gelled the idea of 'What it means for me'".

None of this is to suggest that there was a single or preferred model of antiracist multicultural education about which teachers were unaware. Rather, it is to confirm that, with the possible exceptions of Eastwick's Raymond Neff, Midwich's Ranjana Rushton, and Stepford's ESOL specialist Ed Merrill together with Science teachers Alan Hughes and Don Ferrault, few of the teachers interviewed here, in Mary Migliardi's words, had "thought it through for themselves". Rushton did not continue at Stepford after the merger, Neff left during its first year and Hughes during its second. Given the removal of most of Stepford's Black teachers (p.312) before the end of my fieldwork, Stepford's antiracist multicultural education and cultural diversity knowledge base was demonstrably weak and not formally developed beyond "consciousness raising" through INSET.

8.2.2 Affective elements of teachers' assumptive worlds

The extent to which Midwich and Eastwick teachers interviewed before September, 1988, when the schools merged, expressed support for antiracist multicultural education developments in their school is indicated in table 8.1 overleaf.

	strongly supportive		qualified support		no view		opposed		strongly opposed	
School	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Eastwick		2		2						1
Midwich	2	1		2				1		

Table 8.1: Distribution of Eastwick and Midwich teachers interviewees' stated attitudes towards antiracist multicultural education developments by gender and 'race': Spring/Summer Terms, 1988.

The sample here is small and not intentionally representative of either school, and has no statistical validity, but it offers a basis for discussion of individual teacher's positions. For example, the table's evidence neither supports Midwich teachers' perceptions that all their Eastwick counterparts viewed Stepford's anticipated multicultural ethos negatively, nor assertions that all Midwich staff had joined the school because of their commitment to its presumed multicultural ethos.

One male teacher at Eastwick and one female teacher at Midwich shown as "strongly in favour" of antiracist multicultural education developments were Black. A male teacher at Eastwick expressing strong support was physically disabled. Teachers who expressed qualified support - meaning they had some reservations - included Harry Crankhart, Midwich's Black, male PE teacher; otherwise all teachers identified here are White. No-one expressed "no view" about the need for those developments. At this research stage, no-one drew a distinction between antiracist and multicultural education although Harry Crankhart referred throughout his interview to antiracist, not to multicultural, education.

Loamshire's Chief Inspector's views of former Eastwick and Midwich staff attitudes towards antiracist multicultural education were formed when interviewing them for Stepford posts. He believed that former Midwich teachers were "positive in their attitudes towards ethnic minorities, towards multicultural education and, to some extent, towards antiracist education" whereas former Eastwick staff were "antagonistic towards anything antiracist" and Stepford's first elected Chair of Governors, Edward Hamilton, felt that Eastwick staff "were wholly against antiracist multicultural education".

Impressions of Eastwick and Midwich teachers' support for antiracist multicultural education conveyed by data analysed above (table 8.1, p. 322), and their views about its importance for Stepford, were broadly confirmed by similar data collected at Stepford. Individuals interviewed in the two faculties studied, Science and Languages, and their pre-dispositions concerning antiracist multicultural education developments, by gender and faculty, are represented in table 8.2.

Faculty	strongly supportive		supportive		no view		opposed		strongly opposed	
	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M
Science	1	1* 2*						2		
Languages	1 1*	2		1	1					

Table 8.2: Distribution of Stepford's Science and Languages Faculty interviewees' stated attitudes towards antiracist multicultural education developments by gender and 'race': Spring term, 1989

Figures in the top half of some cells represent Black interviewees: asterisked figures represent individuals also interviewed in the first research phase.

Again no statistical validity is claimed for this table but almost all individuals in each table expressed positive attitudes towards antiracist multicultural education, men generally being less positive about it than women. There was no indication that informants made intentionally misleading statements but, as in the interpretation of table 8.1, caution is necessary in drawing anything more than tentative conclusions from teachers' stated attitudes summarised here.

It was difficult to extricate teachers' views about antiracist multicultural education from their views about education generally, from their "framework for conceptualising (their) total subjective experience as (their) 'assumptive world'" (Young, 1981, p.45), or from their "theories of action" (Argyris and Schon, 1978, p.10) as "norms, strategies and assumptions or models of the world which had claims to general validity". It was evident, for example, that some Eastwick teachers interviewed in 1988 were still having difficulty coming to terms with non-selective intakes of students following comprehensive re-organisation ten years earlier.

8.2.3 Cathectic elements of teachers' assumptive worlds

Tables 8.1 (p.321) and 8.2 (p.323) suggest that women felt more able to relate to 'race', culture and equality issues than most men. Other empirical evidence analysed here (pp. 313-314) indicates that Black and Asian teachers felt that their cultural skills and experiences were unrecognised, misunderstood and un-rewarded by comparison with White male colleagues. However, it was not evident that they wanted those personal skills

to determine their roles at Stepford (pp.315/316). No Black member of staff at either school held a senior or middle management post (Head of Department or Year and above). Black teachers were responsible for "Boys' PE" (but not PE overall) at Midwich, and for "Biology" (but not Science overall) at Eastwick. None of these individuals attempted to contribute to antiracist multicultural education developments in their school, most leaving Eastwick or Midwich before the merger. Although Eastwick's Black Biology teacher's potential contribution to developing links with the school's Caribbean community was not recognised or was ignored by Stepford's SMT, he showed no evidence of wanting to be involved in anything other than his Science teaching.

Age related to certain male characteristics (Lieberman and Miller,1992, p. 49/ Greer, 1988), seemed to have a predictably conservative influence on teachers' attitudes as epitomised by Eastwick's male Head of English, Homer Perley, and Midwich's Year Head, Wilfred Williams, the individuals most obviously opposed to its development in their former schools and at Stepford.

Homer Perley felt that there might be "some sort of backlash, perhaps, from White children" if multicultural education developments had been attempted at Eastwick". He also observed that, "Many of us (staff) would just like it to remain with good common Christian sense", interpreting this himself as meaning "the way we treat each other". Wilfred Williams regretted that "events had overtaken" attempts to make Midwich a "normal school" and it had been "pushed into" becoming more specifically responsive to its students' cultural diversity. "We had to go down that alley - at least, that's how I felt".

Stepford's interim Chair of Governors, Mary Migliardi, as an ex- Eastwick Governor, described two Eastwick RE teachers as "Fundamentalist Christians" and "very antagonistic towards (Midwich's) multi-faith syllabus".

"They simply hadn't thought it through for indigenous children let alone children of ethnic minorities most of whom probably had a far stronger religious upbringing than most indigenous children".

The most coherent and comprehensive statement of commitment to antiracist multicultural education at Midwich was made by Ranjana Rushton, shortly before she left the school.

"You see, for me, multicultural education is something that should happen all the time, in all schools, regardless of their population, what colour they are, what religion they are. The problem is that, in this school, it's often a token gesture; 'inspector's coming in, let's do something multicultural'. It should run through every aspect, the staffing, the content of the curriculum, the way the curriculum is taught, what they have to eat, what sports they do..... the whole range the whole lot".

This statement identifies precisely the kinds of whole school, or "whole system" developments associated with learning organisations (Senge, 1992) recommended in the final chapter of this thesis.

The woman Science teacher, Donna Claybrook, observed that, whatever other issues Stepford might have to contend with, "multicultural has been one of the major things" so that, regardless of ethnic origins, previous professional experience or posts of responsibility, "everyone has a (multicultural) job to do, and they either do it or get out". The woman Languages teacher, Yvonne Weisgalt, also felt that "everybody" should be involved in providing an education at Stepford that was antiracist and multicultural but

"(It) depends on individual members of staff and their attitudes and experience. You can have as many courses as you want and as many policies as you want but, unless staff themselves are really committed..... And we've probably got a situation in the school now where you have some teachers who are very committed to a multicultural school and others who aren't committed".

This was patently the case with several Eastwick and some Midwich teachers unsympathetic towards antiracist multicultural education who remained at Stepford after my research ended.

Two male, White, former Eastwick Science teachers, Ike Mazzard and David Markowe, were opposed to antiracist multicultural education developments (see table 8.2, p.321). They continued to provide separate 'A' level Physics, Chemistry and Biology tuition on Stepford's Eastwick site for their former Eastwick students, diminishing numbers of former independent sector students and a few former Midwich students. At Midwich, Science teachers spent off-duty time in the experiment preparation room, rarely mixing with other colleagues. As their eventual Curriculum Leader, Don Ferrault, observed, they tended to

"reinforce each other" in their attitudes towards education generally and antiracist multicultural education in particular.

Claude Axhelm, Midwich's former Head of English, exemplified Deem's (1992, p.217) observations concerning governors, about the "random and idiosyncratic shaping" of individual attitudes towards 'race' and cultural diversity. His firm, positive and proactive views about racial justice had provoked such negative reactions from his Roman Catholic education employers in his native Rhodesia that he sought refuge in Loamtown and Midwich. However, the much less radical views he expressed as Head of English at Midwich provoked a similarly negative, if less dramatic, response. He attributed the loss of part of his department, drama, in 1988, a subsequent negative reference from Richard Gayford and his non-appointment to Stepford's Head of Languages post to his encouragement of multicultural education at Midwich. It is not surprising, perhaps, that he seemed ambivalent about antiracist multicultural education when interviewed in 1989.

Stepford's Drama teacher, Frank Roddenbury grew up in all-White communities but studied in a university city where multiculturalism was viewed positively,

"There was a tendency to celebrate the differences as a strength. There, I think, it was perceived as a possible innovative force",

but he recognised that it was perceived as "an embarrassment" at Stepford. However, with the exception of Eastwick's disabled Special Needs teacher, no-one whose main teaching experience had been in Eastwick or Midwich spoke about multicultural education experiences so positively.

Some individuals', particularly ethnic minority group teachers', perceptions of antiracist multicultural education's legitimacy were informed by ways in which they were treated themselves (p.327). Others, mainly White, male teachers, had never been required to reflect on antiracist multicultural education's implications for their own beliefs and practices, just as some former Eastwick teachers had never been required to consider comprehensive education's implications for their work. The few Eastwick teachers who identified with ESOL learners' needs in mainstream classes discovered that their interest led to their organisational and professional marginalisation (p.194). It can be seen, therefore, that teachers' abilities to relate to antiracist multicultural education developments in their own school were affected by a combination of their ethnic background, their personal and professional experiences, the precise nature of the proposed developments, and their perceptions of how those developments were evaluated by others.

Individual teachers' recognition of the need to gain a better understanding of antiracist multicultural education depended on the extent to which that understanding could be used and, if used, would have beneficial effects for them as individuals or their schools. Enough has been gleaned from empirical data analysis in earlier chapters to suggest that neither of these options were strong practical propositions for most teachers. Individuals with well developed antiracist multicultural education understanding and commitment were seen to be marginalised, the nature of that understanding being inconsistent with institutional and environmental majority norms and values. Most teachers, therefore, exercised discretion to distance themselves from such developments.

8.2.4 Directive elements of teachers' assumptive worlds

One of the main difficulties encountered by individual teachers at Stepford was uncertainty that antiracist multicultural education was genuinely approved by their Senior Management Team, and by their school's environment.

Young (1981, p.38) "bypasses" the "conflict between [.....] personal and organisational values" exemplified by teachers' largely positive evaluations of developments such as antiracist multicultural education (pp.321-324) and their unwillingness and inability to act positively in relation to it as shown here. Data analysis throughout part 2, whether concerned with policy, leadership or community influences, showed discrepancies between "espoused theory" and "theory in action" (Argyris and Schon, 1978). In other words, rational organisational actors made strategic accommodation with institutionalised organisational structures as a means of personal survival and Scott (1994, p. 77) argues that "a concern for self interest is not incompatible with an institutional approach"..

Young also recognises (1981, p.44) that the main interest in the exercise of discretion in policy implementation "attaches to the point where mundane action ends and purposive action" might be expected to begin. In this section, the purposive action anticipated was teacher responsiveness to the need for antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford. Dora Leebody, interviewed in 1988 whilst still a Year Head at Midwich, said of her own Midwich colleagues,

"I think they thought, 'This is fine; I know what I'm going into. I know this is a multicultural school. This is a school I want to teach in'. But I don't know that it had gone any further than that and into the realms of actually promoting good self images for those children [.....] or to actually promoting aspects of the school curriculum which reflected the different cultures".

Harry Crankhart observed that "the structure's there; the only thing is, the expertise hasn't been provided", and echoed the need expressed by his Science faculty colleagues for someone to tell him what to do.

In pastoral terms, Wilfred Williams demonstrated a determination to act directly in making no special effort to take account of ethnic minority students' specific needs that required him to

"bend over backwards to please any race, creed or colour. If he's a bad boy and he's a black boy, you deal with him. I don't care if he has got a chip on his shoulder about me being racist. I've been around too long to worry about things like that".

Stepford's Drama teacher's initial professional training had included a multicultural education course but he perceived no direct role for himself in developing it at Stepford. His hopes for Stepford's antiracist multicultural education future were invested in

"the younger teachers who've come in the last couple of years with a more open mind about what type of school this should be, and don't start with ideas that emanate from what their previous school was like".

They would be the most effective "agents of change".

Summary

In the first part of this chapter, data analysed indicated that no special efforts were made to recruit teachers with antiracist multicultural commitment and experience, particularly ethnic minority teachers, and neither experience nor expertise in relation to 'race' and cultural diversity were seen to be factors specifically affecting appointments, including those of key senior and middle management personnel. In other words, managers "espoused theories" (Argyris and Schon, 1974/ 1978) concerning the appointment of staff particularly suitable for their school as a multiethnic school, were not borne out by analyses of their "theories in use". Indeed, opportunities to appoint Black teachers and deploy them in the interests of antiracist multicultural education developments in all three schools and their students seemed to be evaded on the discretion (Young, 1981/ 1983) of, mainly, headteachers. Teachers long established at Eastwick and Midwich continued at Stepford, and their appointment to posts of responsibility and their continuing "institutionalised behaviour" (Scott, 1994, p.77) in the new school made little difference to underlying, rationalised, normalised organisational structures and practices, including those concerned with antiracist multicultural education transplanted from their former schools. Consequently, most teachers responded "practically", accepting Stepford and its structures for what they were, and their place within them. (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, p.8).

Although Stepford's SMT and individual teachers recognised the need for antiracist multicultural education training, the staff development I provided had little more than "dramaturgical" purposes or effects (Goffman, 1958), satisfying the Home Office's Section 11 administrative requirements but doing little developmentally for Stepford as a multicultural educational establishment or its teachers' antiracist multicultural education understandings and skills. Exceptionally, Stepford's Head of Science, demonstrating Scott's (1994, p.76) "broadened concept" of the rational actor in institutionalised settings, was seen to maximise his explicit antiracist multicultural education objectives within the constraints of his "rule bound" and rationalised "normal" school context.

Stereotypical assumptions about ethnic minority teachers' assumptive worlds' cognitive and affective elements in relation to antiracist multicultural education proved to be unfounded. None were given opportunities to act directly to change any aspect of Stepford's or its predecessors' normalised and rationalised structures and practices as they affected ethnic minority students or antiracist multicultural education developments. All but one had left Stepford by the time my fieldwork ended. Had there been the necessary consistency between external factors affecting individual teachers' attitudes towards, and involvement in, antiracist multicultural education and factors internal to teachers comprising their assumptive worlds, it would still have been insufficient to ensure its implementation. Their exercise of professional discretion (figure 2.6, page 68) in relation to antiracist multicultural education was seen to be dependent on a combination of internal factors, such as whether or not initiatives were consistent with their assumptive worlds, and external factors, such as the degree of control they were able to exercise over their own decisions. This distinction was the main emergent concept or theoretical abstraction (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.21) to be drawn from data analysis in this chapter.

implement the National Curriculum mainly because of “political technologies of power” (Foucault, 1979, p.219) exercised by central government.

An impression was conveyed at Stepford that teachers, as part of the change or user system(Bolam,1975: see figure 2.5, p.48) were mainly in favour of antiracist multicultural education depending upon how it was defined. None were unwilling to recognise their school’s cultural diversity and none were uninterested in whole school or faculty antiracist multicultural education developments provided they were not personally responsible for them. A fundamental awareness of powerful structural, institutional and local community influences underpinned all teachers’ judgements about the relative values of different kinds of antiracist multicultural education developments affecting, or likely to affect, their school’s interests, their own career prospects and relationships with their colleagues. However, few teachers interviewed felt their school’s future or their own livelihood would be improved by antiracist multicultural education developments.

Uncertainties about antiracist multicultural education expressed by teachers, and the different views expressed about the importance of its implementation, suggested no firm basis for what Scott (1994, p. 77) describes as “innovative activities by individuals [.....] for delegitimising the old and establishing new institutional models”. For there to have been any hope or possibility of such developments, teachers would have needed to recognise not only their moral or theoretical relevance (Fullan, 1982, p.59) but also their practicality (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, p.7-9). In the case of antiracist multicultural education, it was also evident that, although most informants recognised its relevance, they also recognised that its contentiousness (Fullan, 1982, p.63) made its implementation likely to be more troublesome than it was worth.

practicality (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, p.7-9). In the case of antiracist multicultural education, it was also evident that, although most informants recognised its relevance, they also recognised that its contentiousness (Fullan, 1982, p.63) made its implementation likely to be more troublesome than it was worth.

Overall, it was clear that affective elements of teachers' assumptive worlds were able to accommodate positive valuations of antiracist multicultural education's moral and educational purposes although fewer expressions of willingness to be directly identified with them were recorded. Data analysis representative of teachers' assumptive worlds' cognitive and directive elements respectively yielded little evidence of their willingness to act purposefully to effect those developments in their school.

As this final category of factors affecting antiracist multicultural education developments was examined, the broad dimensions of Stepford's, and its predecessors' culturally determined "normal" school organisational structures and processes, and those of its co-existent, "exceptional" antiracist multicultural education facade, were revealed more fully. These "normal" and "exceptional" school structures are examined and discussed in the chapter that follows.

Part 3, Chapter 9: The Normal School.

This chapter summarises and combines empirical data analysis in part 2 to identify and describe the concept of the “normal” school. Mono-culturalism, racial discrimination and inequality are confirmed as prevalent and persistent in English education and, in that sense, Stepford’s minimal efforts to address those issues in its own structures and processes were entirely “normal”.

Categories of concepts and their properties informing Stepford’s “normal” school representations and its associated “exceptional” school categories of concepts, are examined and it is concluded that, although the “normal” school is resistant to antiracist multicultural education, the “exceptional” school also represents an organisational defensive routine (Argyris, 1992) inhibiting its whole school development.

9.1 Stepford's Antiracist Multicultural Education Non-developments

The research described here was prompted by my intention to identify factors affecting antiracist multicultural education developments' management in secondary schools. Two main research aims were stated at the outset:

- (i) To identify factors positively and negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments (p.4) and
- (ii) To improve understanding of the management of those developments as a school improvement strategy in culturally diverse schools. (p.5)

Research was to be based on antiracist multicultural education developments confidently predicted at the new Stepford School and Community College which replaced Eastwick and Midwich Schools. Loamshire LEA emphasised that Stepford was a new school and its Chief Inspector expressed optimism that, under the leadership of a new headteacher, developments necessary in the former schools, including antiracist multicultural education developments, would be possible. Several key informants, including Stepford's headteacher, confirmed that such developments would be a priority (p.224).

However, as my research progressed it became evident that emergent research questions and conceptual categories (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.21) were more likely to be concerned with factors inhibiting or obstructing antiracist multicultural education developments than with factors enabling them. Although the Swann Committee's report (1985), among other influences, had engendered more positive attitudes towards issues of race and cultural

diversity in education than at any other time during the previous thirty years, and although informants expressed considerable support for antiracist multicultural education and indicated no significant resistance to it (figure 8.1, p. 321 and figure 8.2, p.322), data analysed in part 2 confirmed that developments did not occur at Stepford. In particular, it was noted that:

- Stepford's multicultural education policy was not disseminated to all staff, and that it was not a public statement of intent (pp. 176-178);
- References to 'race', racism and antiracism were emphasised less than cultural and linguistic diversity (p.174);
- No plan for its implementation was devised (pp. 175 & 177/178);
- Stepford's curriculum content was not changed to express cultural diversity or opposition to racism (pp.182- 183);
- Section 11 support to facilitate ethnic minority students' curriculum access was misused (p.191);
- Public examination results identified inequality of achievement between different ethnic groups (pp. 195-204);
- Senior management team leadership of antiracist multicultural education developments was inconspicuous (pp. 229 & 231/232);
- Cross-Curriculum Co-ordinator posts created by Stepford's interim management team to include antiracist multicultural education development responsibilities were deleted within a year of Stepford's opening (p.240/241);
- Teachers with specialist responsibilities for antiracist multicultural education had no time or explicit authority to develop antiracist multicultural education (p.240);

- Only one antiracist multicultural education staff development initiative instigated by Stepford was identified (p. 303);
- Stepford did not foster positive community attitudes towards antiracist multicultural education (p. 276);
- Ethnic minority parents and other members of ethnic minority communities were held in less regard than White parents and community members (pp.268/269);
- Outreach to ethnic minority parents and communities was almost exclusively the responsibility of one ethnic minority teacher (p. 315);
- Opportunities presented by West Loamtown Community Forum to develop links with ethnic minority communities were not taken up (pp.279-281);
- Previous experience of antiracist multicultural education was not a factor affecting appointments to Stepford or in appointments to antiracist multicultural education posts of responsibility (pp. 293-294);
- No special measures were adopted to attract ethnic minority teachers to Stepford and all but one of those in post at the beginning of my fieldwork had left before it ended (pp. 308-310);
- Assumptions made about ethnic minority teachers' interests and abilities in antiracist multicultural education were unfounded in several instances (pp. 314-315).

Furthermore, conceptual categories emerging from empirical research data analysis and supported by reference to substantive theory indicated inconsistencies and discrepancies between

- espoused antiracist multicultural education theories and theories in use (Argyris and Schon, 1974/1978) and (chapter 5);
- espoused leadership strategies and leadership strategies in use (Burns, 1978/ Beare et al, 1992) and (chapter 6);
- formal and informal organisational structures representing Stepford to different audiences for different purposes (Meyer and Rowan, 1977/ Rowan and Scott, 1994) and (chapter 7), and
- individual teachers' stated commitments to antiracist multicultural education and their observed actions (Young, 1981/1983 and Argyris and Schon, 1974/1978) and (chapter 8).

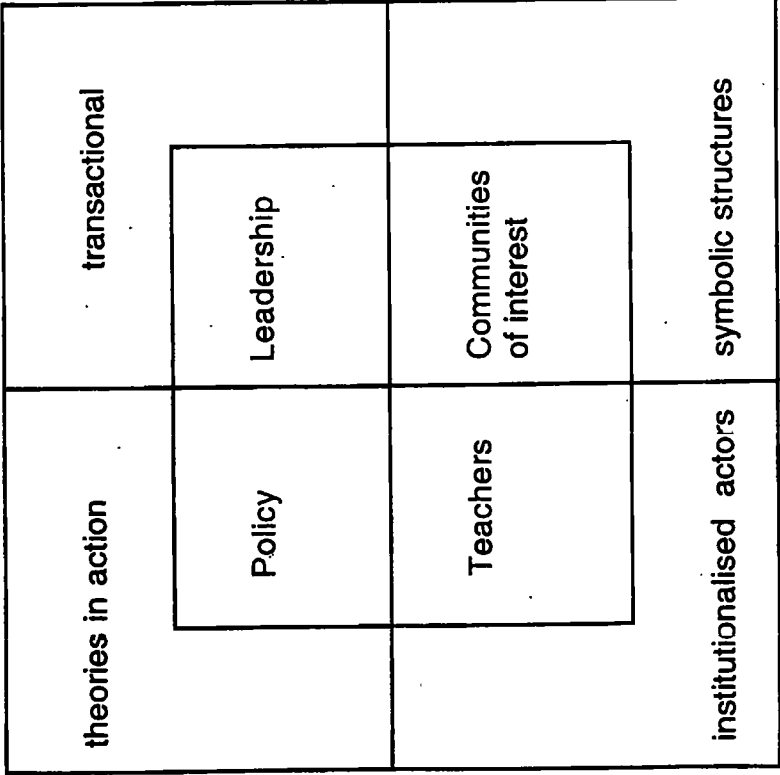
All of this indicated that in the three years during which antiracist multicultural education developments had been anticipated at Stepford, none of any significance had occurred. My main research questions became concerned, therefore, with why there had been so little development of an aspect of Stepford's organisational identity considered important by several key informants; why several promising initiatives had been evaded or suppressed; what factors had contributed to those circumstances and how the conceptual categories identified might have been interpreted more positively to ensure the developments anticipated.

9.2 Towards a conceptual framework

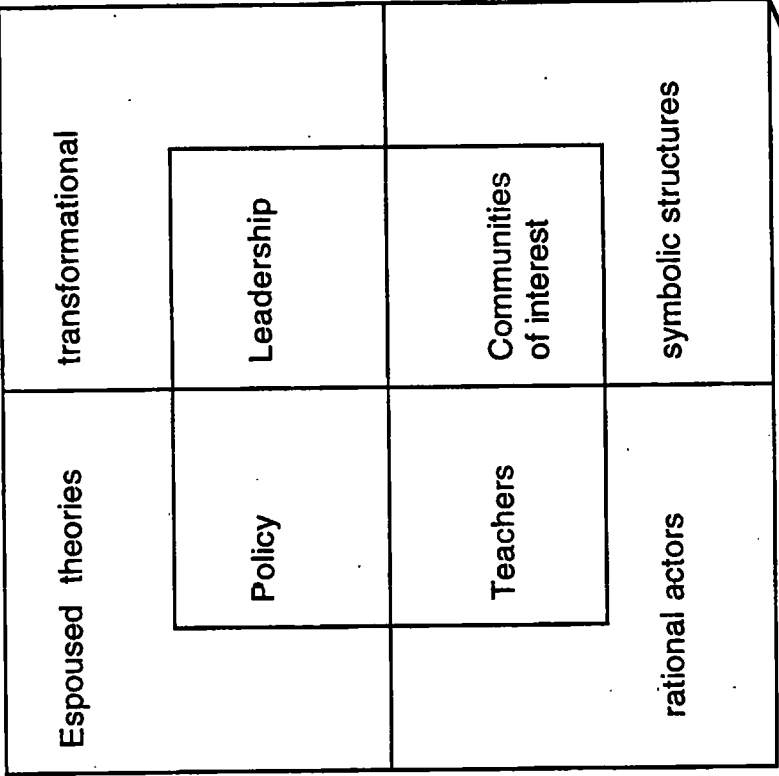
Glaser and Strauss (1967, pp. 37 & 40) observe that "higher level, over-riding and integrating conceptualisations - and the properties that elaborate them - tend to come later" in the research process. Several first and second research phase informants identified the "normal" school as contrary to antiracist multicultural education in references to the "normal middle class curriculum" (p. 182), and to "normal teaching and learning". Stepford's

headteacher's debate with himself (p. 227) about his school's "ordinary" and "extraordinary" characteristics was a variation on this theme. It was only during my third research phase that its significance as "an empirical generalisation" (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.24) for purposes of "getting the ensuing story straight " was recognised, and at draft thesis writing stage that comparison and contrast of "normal" and "exceptional" school concepts was identified as a potentially useful analytical tool. This led to the development of figure 9.1 overleaf, which owes much to Morgan's (1986, pp.321/322) "holographic" view of organisational analysis (see also p. 34, chapter 2 of this thesis), showing loosely coupled relationships between perceptions of Stepford as a "normal" and an "exceptional" school in antiracist multicultural education development terms, all set within a specific environment or organisational field (Scott, 1994, p.56).

INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT



“front-stage”



“back-stage”

loose coupling

figure 9.1: categories of factors affecting antiracist multicultural education developments and related theory

Aspects of the conceptual categories contributing to perceptions of the “normal” school were identified as:

- theories in use (Argyris and Schon, 1974/1978), (see discussion pp. 70-72 and 206-207);
- transactional leadership (Burns, 1978/ Beare et al, 1992),(see discussion pp. 55-56 and p.245);
- symbolic organisational structures (Meyer and Rowan, 1977/ Scott and Meyer, 1994), (see discussion pp. 41-42 and 265), and
- teachers as institutionalised actors (Meyer, Boli and Thomas, 1994), (see discussion pp.42-43, and pp.331).

These aspects were in “loose coupled” (Weick, 1976; and see discussion p. 47) front stage/ back stage relationship with other aspects of those same conceptual categories as they contributed to perceptions of the “exceptional” school. Respectively, these were

- espoused theories (Argyris and Schon, 1974/1978), (see discussion pp.70-72 and p.206);
- transformational leadership (Burns, 1978, Beare et al, 1992), (see discussion p.55-56 and p.246);
- formal functional organisational structures (Berger and Luckman, 1967/ Rowan and Meyer, 1977/ Scott and Meyer, 1994), (see discussion p.41 and pp. 263-266 and 284-285);
- teachers as rational actors (Simon, 1957/Meyer, Boli and Thomas, 1994), (see discussion pp. 63 and 332-334).

Figure 9.1 makes it possible to conceptualise the broad and more specific differences between Stepford's "normal" and "exceptional" school conceptual categories and their properties, and their effects on antiracist multicultural education developments. For example, as discussed and demonstrated in chapter 5 (pp. 175-177), Stepford's espoused multicultural education policy was not disseminated to all members of staff and there was no plan for its implementation. As such, it was consigned to a backstage location unless required to substantiate impressions that Stepford was an "exceptional" school in antiracist multicultural education terms. For most other, "normal" school purposes, Stepford's theories in use made little reference to this policy. These and other comparisons made in this chapter between Stepford's "normal" and "exceptional" antiracist multicultural education leadership, links with different communities of interest and teachers' attitudes and behaviour, and their cumulative effect on antiracist multicultural education developments, provide a framework for this chapter's discussion of the "normal" school.

This is not to suggest that this front-stage/back-stage disposition was fixed or immutable. From time to time, for specific purposes and audiences, the "exceptional" school, or a particular conceptual category and its properties might be brought front-stage, as at Stepford, as a facade (Smith and Keith, 1971) or false front (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978, pp. 197-200) for presentational or impression management (Goffman, 1959) purposes. This is consistent with Morgan's (1986, p.321/322) holographic view of organisations and his view that organisational analysis should start from a premise that organisations are "complex, ambiguous and paradoxical" and may be "different things at one and the same time". All of this, set within the environment or organisational field discussed in the section that follows, is

reminiscent of Scott's "layered model" (figure 2.3, p. 39) to which reference is made throughout this chapter.

9.3 Stepford's Organisational Field and Institutional Environment.

The broader organisational field and environment within which developments at Stepford were studied was one in which racial discrimination, monoculturalism and inequality were "normal", because institutionalised (Sarup, 1986/ Troyna, 1992, Karn 1997). These features of English society and schools were "direct reflections of rules built into the wider environment" (Scott and Meyer, 1994, p.2). Individual informants (pp.171, 173) and the analysis of Stepford's 1991 public examination results (p.198) confirmed that Stepford was representative and expressive of class, gender and 'race' inequalities in that wider society.

"Normal" as used here refers specifically to schools reflecting those wider environmental characteristics, not developing their understanding and practices to take account of contemporary British society's changing ethnic composition (Rose et al ,1969/ Swann, 1985), racial discrimination and related social and educational inequalities. Conversely, the term "exceptional", is taken here to mean schools that have adapted their ethos, practices and procedures to take account of those same changing circumstances and related inequalities.

Those responsible for developing the new Stepford school had at least two options; to continue as both Eastwick and Midwich had done as "normal" schools in evading the practical implications of its culturally diverse environment, or to identify it as "exceptional" in multiethnic terms and develop new organisational structures and processes accordingly.

However, it was clear from data analysed that Stepford was not a new school and that the former Eastwick's and Midwich's physical boundaries and catchment areas, structures, processes and personnel, changed very little.

These external (Woods, 1983) influences on Stepford as a "normal" school, however, were less important than "internal" influences such as Eastwick's and Midwich's sedimented (Meyer et al, 1994, p.21) meaning systems and approved behaviour patterns, their constitutive and normative rules and their regulatory processes (Scott, 1994, p.57: see figure 2.3, p.39). These were transplanted (Scott, 1994, p.16) or exteriorised (Berger and Luckman, 1967) at Stepford, accepted as "normal" and continued largely uninterrupted.

Research questions also came to be concerned, therefore, with the extent to which Stepford developed a "a new ethos and social reality" (Draper, 1992, p.354) and structures and practices consistent with its students' perceived needs, the Swann Committee's (1985) recommendations and antiracist multicultural education legislation and policies. It was for that main reason that research data from those schools is displayed at the beginning of each section in part 2's data analysis chapters. This showed that there was sufficient in Eastwick's and Midwich's "wider and more universal character" as schools (Meyer et al, 1994, p.22), and in their shared understandings of their communities of interests' expectations of them, for a "normal" school ethos which understated 'race' and cultural diversity issues to be readily adopted by Stepford. Stepford's institutional environment and organisational field, therefore, assumes importance in its own right as an influence on its antiracist multicultural education developments in addition to the four categories of concepts identified in part 2.

As a multiethnic school, subject to Home Office Section 11 administrative requirements and, latterly, OFSTED inspection criteria, it would have been legitimate for Stepford to declare a front-stage commitment to antiracist multicultural education in the all pervasive terms described by Midwich's teacher, Ranjana Rushton (p.325). Several other informants, however, considered this unlikely. (pp. 230-231/ p.278)

In the event, Stepford adopted and developed a third option seen to be emergent at Midwich during my first research phase. This entailed representing the school as "normal" for most day to day purposes and as a multiethnic school for others. This is not surprising given Morgan's (1986, pp. 321/322) statements about the complexity of organisations but, in this instance, questions seemed inevitable about whose interpretation of normality or legitimacy Stepford and its members were complying with, and about the locus and nature of power, particularly cultural power and influence, at Stepford and in its institutional environment. Ultimately, the authority exercised by organisational leaders or change agents was seen to be derived from society at large (Bolam and Pratt, 1976, p.15), often expressed through laws and central and local government administrative requirements over which schools had no control (Bell, 1989, p.31) and, in cultural terms in accordance with established beliefs and practices. It was noted (p.52) that the National Curriculum, consistent with the cultural hegemony affecting each level of influence on schools identified in Lawton's (1983: see figure 2.4, p.45) model, reinforced by the full legitimating force of Foucault's (1979, p.219) "culturally and politically determined technologies of power", was more fully, effectively and quickly implemented than any aspect of antiracist multicultural education at Stepford. Those responsible for developing Stepford's ethos, structures and practices, therefore, may have perceived that the only way of addressing issues of 'race' and cultural diversity was through

back-stage organisational arrangements described here. However, this had the effect of coupling antiracist multicultural education structures and practices so loosely with “normal” school structures that they were effectively marginalised.

Gillborn (1995, p. 99) recognises that, although antiracist multicultural education needs to be developed on a whole school basis, whole school change is a goal, not a strategy. Therefore, the kind of cultural change implied by antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford was likely to be localised in one or more of Stepford’s sub-cultures, or faculties (Martin and Frost, 1996, p.905), or through one or more of the key determinants of its organisational culture represented by the conceptual categories and their properties identified and discussed here.

9.4. Policy Development Processes

Data analysis informing the conceptual category concerned with policy and curriculum factors and their properties (chapter 5) attested to the interplay between established attitudes and assumptions, the exercise of discretion (Young, 1981, 1983) and discrepancies between “espoused theory” and “theory in use” (Argyris and Schon, 1974/1978) as an “organisational defensive routine” (Argyris, 1992) negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education policy development at Stepford and its predecessors. Tensions were identified at all levels in Lawton’s (1983) model between perceived needs to make policy responses to changing institutional and cultural circumstances, and environmental influences to preserve, reinforce and replicate established policies and practices. An hierarchical distribution of more or less consistent espoused antiracist multicultural education policy statements, from central

government to individual teachers, was noted but, in most instances, the policies were contradicted or diminished by others and not supported by plans for their implementation. A powerful, but unstated, cultural hegemony informing developments in education, exemplified by the National Curriculum, was seen to obscure the significance of antiracist multicultural education developments in schools and to inhibit its practical implementation.

9.4.1. Central government.

Stepford might have found it easier to change its “normal” monocultural ethos, inherent inequalities and discriminatory practices inherited from its predecessors if the policy context informed by central and local governments’ own antiracist and multicultural education policies and practices had been more positive, clear and consistent. Indeed, central government’s roles in antiracist multicultural education policy development (pp. 168-169), related developmental leadership (p.210) and general interest in the field (p. 253-254) have been described as “doing good by doing little” (Kirp,1979).

However, it can be argued that central government has its own frontstage/backstage strategies (figure 9.1, p.341) for dealing with those matters. Its “normal” policy facade rarely contains reference to Britain as a multiethnic society (Hardy and Vieler-Porter, 1992, pp.101/102) and the National Curriculum was perceived by informants to have removed ‘race’ and cultural diversity from the national education agenda (p.186). Central government’s normalising influence included rejection of the National Curriculum Council’s Multicultural Education working party’s report, epitomising its determination to culturally sanitise and de-racialise educational debate (Troyna, 1990). The Education Reform Act’s (1988) “open

enrolment” provisions were also seen to negatively affect the possibility of antiracist multicultural education developments in schools (see p.256-258). Its theories in use, therefore, were construed as corrective of any influences likely to alter the cultural status quo in schools and society and, therefore, as culturally normalising (Rowan and Meyer, 1977/ Goffman, 1959/ Foucault, 1979).

Central government’s most obvious interest in ‘race’, cultural diversity and education was through the Home Office’s and DFEE’s monitoring of Section 11 funding’s effectiveness, new guidelines introduced during the period of my research emphasising its language assimilation (James, 1980: see figure 2.1, p.11), rather than cultural diversity or antiracist purposes. The DFEE’s influence through its emerging OFSTED inspection service had little effect on antiracist multicultural education developments (Runnymede Trust, 1990).

Through these demonstrations of central government’s theory in use (Argyris and Schon, 1978), and its conspiracy of silence (Grace, 1992) on ‘race’ issues, ambiguous frontstage/backstage messages about ‘race’ and cultural diversity in education were conveyed that were reflected at other levels of decision making and in other conceptual categories discussed here.

9.4.2 Local government

Loamshire LEA was caught in a hegemonic relationship between central government’s apparent lack of enthusiasm for antiracist multicultural education on the one hand, and powerful local communities of interests’ opposition (pp. 276-277), occasional hostility, towards it on the other. Consequently, the LEA delayed developing multicultural education

policies that might cause more problems than they resolved (Fullan, 1982, p.63) until obliged to do so to qualify for Section 11 funding, but Loamshire understated 'race' as a policy issue (see p. 169), emphasising cultural and linguistic diversity. Even in those de-racialised respects, the LEA was unwilling to support its own antiracist multicultural education representatives if they insisted on its implementation in schools (pp. 259-260). Consequently, the LEA's espoused antiracist multicultural education theories were uncoupled from its theories in use as interpreted by some of its senior officers. Loamshire's advisers' preoccupations with the National Curriculum from 1988 onwards effectively ruled out their attention to antiracist multicultural education but they had been reluctant to raise it as an issue before the National Curriculum was implemented (p.212).

As a key player in Loamshire's antiracist multicultural education change agent system, the LEA typified Miles and Huberman's (1984) perception of nominal change agents who are ambivalent about, if not actually resistant to, changes and change processes for which they are responsible. Discrepancies between Loamshire LEA's espoused policies and its policies in use were perceived to be an organisational defensive routine to protect it from "negative surprises, embarrassment or threat" (Argyris, 1992, p.103). Therefore, the frontstage/ backstage configuration (figure 9.1, p.341) also broadly represents Loamshire LEA's response to ambivalent influences brought to bear by central government's policy statements.

9.4.3 Stepford School

(i) Policy

Stepford's multicultural education policy was developed separately from its other policies, and it occupied a backstage position loosely coupled with "normal" school policies. Like Eastwick's multicultural education policy, it was only known about by those responsible for drafting it (p.171) and little reference was made to antiracism. The lack of any action plan for implementing Stepford's policy indicated that its purposes were "symbolic" (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), mainly for complying with Home Office Section 11 administrative guidelines, Stepford's Head of languages recognising (p. 231) a "lack of real philosophical commitment" to it.

But Stepford could not avoid policy acknowledgement of its multicultural character if it wished to attract central government funding and, indeed, its interim management committee (pp.164 and 214), new headteacher (p.224), several governors (p.173) and teacher informants (p.323) expressed optimism about, and commitment towards, antiracist multicultural education developments (pp.164 & 173). Consistent with good practice elsewhere (Gillborn, 1995) teachers at all levels of responsibility and a Black parent governor participated in the school's *multicultural* (my emphasis) education policy's development but it was not implemented.

(ii) Curriculum

Persistent but unstated “normal” school theories in use.(Argyris and Schon, 1974/1978), as reflections and expressions of established social, cultural and educational norms and values, survived transplantation (Meyer et al, 1994, p.21) from Stepford’s predecessors, a merger and changes of leadership. Eastwick’s headteacher recognised the importance of his school’s curriculum’s “normal” characteristics if it wanted to “establish the reputation of a comprehensive school in a town in which there are a large number of pupils going to independent schools”. The school’s “Double Christianity” Advanced Level Religious Education syllabus confirmed the importance of Christianity as a prevalent and persistent indicator (Ball, 1969/ Grace, 1992) of its, and subsequently Stepford’s, cultural orientations. Sanctions were brought to bear on two Midwich teachers who developed multicultural history and literature initiatives (pp.182/183). Only Midwich’s Head of Science, in conjunction with the ESOL specialist, devised an INSET programme that contributed directly to multicultural curriculum content and access developments but it was specifically and briefly confined to Science, did not require whole school policy or attitude change, did not affect the curriculum’s overall cultural orientations, was not linked with a public examination course and so was, effectively, part of that school’s backstage activities.

Stepford’s multicultural policy identified the curriculum’s need to “take into account diversity of cultural experience” and “expose the dangers of cultural stereotyping”, but external observers such Loamshire’s inspection team and governors (pp.183-184) expressed concerns about activities inconsistent with the school’s cultural diversity and about the effects of racism. Again, the relationship between Stepford’s policy statement and its expression in

curriculum terms was tenuous, its headteacher exercising the same kind of “cultural gatekeeper” role as his predecessors until the National Curriculum relieved him of that responsibility. For instance, Herbert Sunderson’s removal of Stepford’s Cross Curriculum Coordinators’ posts (p.240-241) curtailed potentially the most effective antiracist multicultural education curricular and cross curricular development opportunity identified by my research. Headteacher veto of any developments inconsistent with impressions of “normal” school curriculum development counteracted teachers with specific antiracist multicultural education responsibilities’ effect, conveyed clear messages to Stepford’s staff about its legitimacy and status as an organisational development, and represented a formidable challenge for potential change agents.

(iii) Curriculum Access

None of Stepford’s policies, “normal” or “exceptional”, stated or unstated, gave guidance about arrangements to ensure ethnic minority students’ curriculum access. The school’s “normal” organisational structures for curriculum delivery, based on Eastwick’s and Midwich’s, took little account of ESOL learners’ needs. Stepford, like both former schools, had backstage arrangements in which they were over-represented, or separate systems for supporting students who were unable to access mainstream teachers’ unmodified “normal” lessons, all of which worked to their disadvantage (p.189). Eastwick’s Sixth Form curriculum’s persistence at Stepford owed much to the school’s calculated need to retain students from the former Eastwick catchment area for the first two years of its existence.

It can be argued that Stepford’s inherited and frequently changing curriculum access and support systems were intended to persuade internal and external observers, either that ethnic

minority group students' needs were being addressed, or that the presence of ethnic minority students did not detract from delivery of a "normal" education to those students who could access it (p.194).

Section 11 teachers for ensuring ESOL learners' curriculum access were consistently misused at Midwich (p.190) and this continued in different ways at Stepford. This indicated that it was not only in relation to school policies, but also Home Office administrative guidelines and LEA monitoring requirements, that discrepancies occurred between services that Stepford's back-stage "exceptional" school representation indicated were in place and what actually occurred in the "normal" school. Data analysis also revealed (p.191) that Section 11 funding was used to support "normal" school roles and status of teachers involved only nominally with ESOL learners, and to absorb staff surplus to requirements as student enrolments declined. As Meyer and Rowan observe (1977, p.340) organisations may adopt organisational structures for symbolic purposes, regardless of the problems they are intended to address, in the interests of securing their legitimacy with environments on which they depend for survival. Stepford's loosely coupled, ethnic minority student support structures were difficult to identify precisely, to monitor for their effectiveness or to change. This separation of its ESOL support structures from its "normal" curriculum access arrangements, therefore, was a key property of the policy and curriculum conceptual category affecting antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford

(iv) Curriculum Achievement

Distribution patterns of students' public examinations achievements reflected different ethnic groups' curriculum options, their placement in different learning groups and the effectiveness of support provided for them. It is uncertain that more ethnic minority students would have performed better in GCSE and Advanced Level examinations if all available Section 11 funding had been used to support their access to the full curriculum, particularly at more advanced ESOL learning stages. However, a report on Stepford's 1991 public examinations (pp. 196-204) attributed Bengali students' relatively poor results (p.199) to their entry for examinations for which they were "ill-equipped in terms of language". Stepford's emphasis on Advanced Level and GCSE examination courses, continued from Eastwick, and the courses leading to those examinations, were inappropriate for many of the school's ethnic minority students. Furthermore, their achievements were interpreted on the same basis as for White students who were less likely to be disadvantaged by that range of examination options or more generally. However, as discussed earlier (p.202), the report noted that Stepford's monocultural ethos might be a factor negatively affecting ethnic minority students' achievements, a factor also noted by Loamshire's inspection team and a visiting governor (p.204)

The absence of any listing of students' examination successes by ethnicity until the final year of my fieldwork suggested either that ethnic minority students' relatively low achievements were considered unexceptional or that Black students' achievements were as unsatisfactory as the Black governor's questions (p.196) anticipated they would be. This is not to imply that Stepford deliberately or intentionally disadvantaged ethnic minority students by

not analysing public examination results data by ethnic group, or by collecting it in potentially misleading forms (pp.197 & 201) but it may have done so to disguise the underachievement of a substantial number of its students.

Nor is it to suggest that Stepford intended these inconsistencies, discrepancies and loose couplings between its multicultural education policy and its implementation, or that its purposes were only intended for presentational purposes (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.340/ Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.178). Subsequently, however, as the implications of overt antiracist multicultural education policy expression began to be recognised by Stepford's new headteacher, lack of an action plan made its implementation easier to evade although the policy temporarily satisfied Section 11 administrative requirements and Loamshire's inspection team's external scrutiny (pp.262/263). It also meant that key areas of Stepford's "normal" curriculum's cultural orientations could continue unchanged without appearing to be inconsistent with the new school's policies.

Stepford's multicultural education policy's backstage location was considered necessary if White students were to be gained from its immediate environment whilst, at the same time, Section 11 funding was gained from central government. However, this meant that there was no clearly or widely agreed basis in policy to inform antiracist multicultural education's meanings and purposes for Stepford's "normal" school development. Loamshire's inspection team noted (p.187) that, although Stepford had "an excellent whole school antiracist multicultural education policy", its other policies and its "curiously anonymous" curriculum practice gave no indication that it was a multilingual school.

The existence of such a loosely coupled, backstage antiracist multicultural education policy may be interpreted as an organisational defensive routine (Argyris, 1992) to protect Stepford's "normal" school policies. This was partly responsible for Stepford teachers' uncertainties about antiracist multicultural education's meaning for them (p.178), its relatively weak competitive strength in the new school, and an absence of individual teacher "policy entrepreneurs" (Troyna and Ball, 1985) as discussed below (p.379). In this way, the policy dilemma experienced by both Eastwick and Midwich continued at Stepford, permeating all levels of potential response.

Stepford's espoused antiracist multicultural education policy, therefore, was perceived to be an unclear and contested basis for such developments, being little more than symbolic (Meyer and Rowan, 1977), for presentational and impression management (Goffman, 1959) purposes, and only loosely coupled, if coupled at all, to "normal" school actions it ought to have informed. This directly influenced other conceptual categories' (see figure 9.1, p.341) effects on antiracist multicultural education, not least in providing potential developments' leaders and change agents with an unclear vision of anticipated developments and offering no substantial basis for involving internal and external communities of interest in them.

9.5 Leadership Processes

Central government's 'race', cultural diversity and education (pp. 147-152 and 210-211) leadership was uniformly low key, regulatory rather than developmental, concerned more with instrumentality than high moral purpose and, in that sense, entirely "normal". It was also

transactional (Burns, 1978/ Beare et al, 1992) in the sense that Section 11 funding represented inducements or rewards for complying with administrative guidelines which excluded its use for multicultural or antiracist education.

9.5.1 Loamshire LEA's Antiracist Multicultural Education Leadership

Loamshire still had considerable influence on LEA maintained schools when my research began early in 1988 but its antiracist multicultural education leadership was constrained, on the one hand, by central government's limited expectations and, on the other, by multiple communities of interest (pp. 249-286), the most influential being mainly White, middle class and nominally Christian in which there was evidence of substantial and overt racism. (pp.276/278)

Consequently Loamshire's LEA's senior officers preferred to "play it down" and "keep it low key" (p.260), but this did not mean that Loamshire's role in relation to antiracist multicultural education was neutral. LEA officers' participation in staff selection processes contributed to appointments to multiethnic schools of school leaders and other key personnel with no multiethnic school experience (pp.211-212), two headteacher and other informants attesting to 'race' and cultural diversity issues not being discussed at their interview (pp.221-222).

Loamshire LEA administrative and political interests were mainly concerned to preserve long-standing informal - and, therefore, normal - "custom and practice" relationships on

which both the LEA and its schools depended. Thus, the LEA's leadership role was little more than administrative or regulatory on behalf of central government and rarely developmental in its own right, but with its own frontstage/ backstage policy, leadership and community links agendas and strategies (see p.169) where 'race' and cultural diversity issues might jeopardise those relationships. My own role as an LEA antiracist multicultural education leader and potential change agent at Stepford, for example, was constrained by Loamshire's tentative and ambiguous policy and leadership positions.(see pp 211-213).

Loamshire LEA used the same "transactional" (Burns, 1978) Section 11 leadership tactics with both Eastwick and Midwich that their headteachers used with their teaching staff. (p.229) Provided schools and teachers kept "a low profile" in 'race' and cultural diversity issues, the LEA would not question how Section 11 teachers were deployed (p.190). However, the Home Office's and Loamshire's emphasis on Section 11 administrative and regulatory detail (p.243) contributed to Stepford's distraction from development of its own response to its ethnic minority pupils.

9.5.2. Governors as antiracist multicultural education leaders

The precise location and nature of governors' "shifting coalitions of interests and alliances" (Deem, 1992, p.220) were difficult to determine, most of them having interests at Stepford as parents or as political representatives. Governors' leadership roles in relation to any developments in which 'race' and cultural diversity were operative were unclear and unpredictable, often being confused with political or community interests at odds with their governor loyalties and responsibilities (p.258). With the exception of Stepford's Black parent

governor's interest in Black students' educational achievements, their only references to 'race' and cultural diversity issues arose from their "curriculum visitor" experiences, reported at Stepford's governing body meetings and "noted" (p.219).

It can be argued, as expressed in the USA Civil Rights aphorism, that if governors "were not part of the solution, they were part of the problem" and that by their ignorance, neglect or evasion of these issues, they were as responsible for antiracist multicultural education's non-development as its opponents. As Stepford's Chair of Governors demonstrated at the school's first annual report to parents meeting in 1989 (p.218), when questions about 'race' as a factor adversely affecting enrolments were raised, governors tended to understate or dismiss their significance. They too were part of Stepford's organisational field's normalising influence on the school's cultural orientations and its inexplicitness about 'race' issues.

The Education Act's (1986) intended re-statement of governing bodies responsibilities did little to shift organisational power and influence from headteachers to parents and community representatives (Deem et al, 1992, p.215). Furthermore, the implications of Circular 7/88 identifying governors' responsibilities for their school's financial viability sharpened Stepford's governors' thinking about effective marketing, much of which, in an era of open enrolments, emphasised "normal" school qualities to the detriment of antiracist multicultural education. (Hardy and Vieler Porter, 1992/ Ball et al, 1995)

9.5.3 Antiracist Multicultural Education Leadership at Stepford

(i) Headteacher

“Above all, the support and commitment of the Headteacher is essential if positive (multicultural education) progress is to be made”. (Swann, 1985, p.353) All three headteachers recognised the need for change in their schools to respond to, and to reflect, cultural changes in student bodies and communities they served, but regretted that neither had occurred or been as extensive as they wished (p.182). Stepford’s headteacher, in 1989, spoke about the “inevitability” of antiracist multicultural education developments in the new school (p.224) and his intention to lead those, and other, whole school and cross curricular developments in the inspirational and transformational manner of which Loamshire’s Chief Inspector believed he was capable (p.214).

Stepford’s headteacher might have been encouraged by Weindling and Earley’s (1986, p.334) discovery that new headteachers were expected to make changes that their staff usually recognised were necessary, including taking personal responsibility for improving their school’s public image. However, Herbert Sunderson did not inherit the “clean slate” he anticipated and his later, much more tentative remarks (p.226) in 1989, suggested that he already knew that antiracist multicultural education developments might be inconsistent with Loamtown’s expectations of the school.

Distinctions between management and leadership (Grace, 1995), therefore, and between transformational and transactional leadership (Burns, 1978), as discussed earlier (p.55), were central to discussions about antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford (see

figure 9.1, p.341). No intrinsic merit attaches to any of these approaches, all being potentially effective in achieving a school's stated objectives, depending upon the nature of those objectives and their "situational variables" (Davies and Morgan, 1983, pp.150/151). It was noted that transactional leadership at Stepford's predecessor schools, in terms of inducements and sanctions, had been used to suppress antiracist multicultural education developments (pp.182/183). At Stepford, therefore, it seemed likely that transformational antiracist multicultural education leadership would be more effective given its association with achieving "a breakthrough in civil rights" (Beare et al., 1992, p.28), and the need to involve organisational members' in expressing a shared organisational vision.

However, Stepford's headteacher sought to ensure that his school's public image complied with local expectations, particularly cultural expectations, as a means of legitimating its activities (Meyer and Rowan, 1977). This entailed, among other things, delivery of a "normal" curriculum (see p.360) so that, instead of becoming a transformational curriculum leader developing as curriculum based on students' needs, interests and abilities, he remained a "manager of cultural transmission". (Grace, 1995, pp.109/110)

By maintaining neutrality and "letting things progress as they always have" (Lieberman and Miller, 1984, p.76), school leaders make a moral statement, just as schools seeking to maintain neutrality "in the face of widespread evidence of racial discrimination" (Swann, 1985, p.35) were failing in their educational and social responsibilities. Rather than leading his colleagues in "the continuing pursuit of a higher purpose" (Burns, 1978, p. 20), Sunderson presided over preservation of complex environmental relationships and professional

assumptions of which he was part, and for which he was partly responsible, in the interests of ensuring Stepford's longer term survival (see p.229)

Sunderson had no need for transactional leadership's strategic sanctions, the property of leadership's front-stage, "normal" school conceptual category (see figure 9.1, p.341) employed by Midwich's headteacher (pp.182/183). Stepford's staff's compliance with representations of the school as "normal" was assured given their socialisation in Loamtown institutions in which that kind of organisational duality had acquired the status of received wisdom. Furthermore, most Stepford teachers' close encounters with school closure and teacher redundancy made them acutely aware of the probable consequences of non-compliance.

9.5.3 (ii) Middle Management: Faculty and Year Heads

Transformational secondary school leaders would be more likely than Herbert Sunderson to involve their middle managers in developing a shared vision for their school, disseminating it within the school and ensuring its practical expression (Bennett, 1995, p.18). This is more effectively carried out if middle managers have some kind of whole school perspective (Earley and Fletcher-Campbell, 1989), and they are not confined to specific subject faculty or year group responsibilities. This only occurred formally and briefly at Stepford when all Faculty Heads were incorporated into an extended senior management team (p.234). Several different reasons may be advanced for this experiment's curtailment, the most plausible being that Faculty Heads were required to return to senior subject specialist roles in order to plan the

National Curriculum's implementation. It might also have been because they raised whole school questions, including some about Stepford's cultural orientations (pp. 234/235).

Nonetheless, the extended management team initiative came close to the transformational leadership ideal of open and democratic conditions (see pp.55 & 56) in which antiracist multicultural education developments might succeed. For them to have done so would have required Stepford's headteacher to be more explicit, more a "manager of meaning" (Beare et al, 1992, p.28), about several whole school issues, including antiracist multicultural education, and to have involved the whole team more fully in promulgating them.

Generally, however, and as noted by the LEA's inspection team (p.235), Stepford's middle managers, including its deputy headteachers, had little influence on whole school priorities. This may be why so few Stepford informants at middle management level and below were clear about whole school policies and strategies for their implementation, including those concerning antiracist multicultural education.

9.5.3 (iii) Teachers with specific antiracist multicultural education responsibilities

Stepford's interim management team believed it had done all it could to ensure antiracist multicultural education developments at the new school by appointing an "inspired" headteacher (p.214), and installing a cross-curriculum co-ordinators' framework and related posts of responsibility (p.240). Data analysis (p.191), however, indicates that in staffing his specialist posts structures, Stepford's new headteacher was also concerned to protect former Eastwick senior teachers' responsibility allowances and to reassure White parents that

responses to ethnic minority students needs did not detract from the school's "normal" educational provision (pp.267- 268). As Argyris (1992, p.77) observed, executives he studied spent "happiness-orientated" time preventing conflict with and between different groups and individuals in their organisation, much of that conflict being concerned with pay differentials.

Although Stepford's multicultural policy stated that teachers with specific multicultural education responsibilities would be clearly identified, and that some leadership in their specialist areas was implied, there was evident loose-coupling (Meyer and Rowan, 1977, p.342) between their formally designated roles and their perceived actions (p.376). Former Midwich teachers occupying Stepford's antiracist multicultural education positions of responsibility were allowed no time from other duties to contribute to, or to monitor, antiracist multicultural education developments, and the roles of all teachers with specific ethnic minority student support responsibilities at Stepford were confused and contested, notably those of the school's Special Needs Co-ordinator and the ESOL specialist (see pp. 192/193). Stepford's ethnic minority teachers also assumed incidental antiracist multicultural education duties, such as translating and interpreting, for which they received no responsibility allowances or other reward, indicating that Argyris' (1992) happiness orientated time did not extend to them.

Stepford's frequent whole school organisational restructurings and, particularly, middle management re-deployments during the three years after it opened, and the nominal conferring of antiracist multicultural education (including Section11) posts of responsibility on almost a quarter of the school's teaching staff, were characterised more by transactional (in terms of compliance through rewards and inducements) than transformational leadership. However,

none of the individuals occupying these positions of responsibility declined them or dissented from expectations of them in those roles. These structural and individual arrangements also constituted an organisational defensive routine which obviated the need for Stepford to install more effective measures to give expression to its multicultural policy, whilst satisfying central and local government's communities of interest's scrutiny as discussed in the section that follows.

Although none of this discussion reflects favourably on Stepford's headteacher, it is arguable (p.248) that his approach was the only means of providing his colleagues and their students with "a stable element in an unstable environment". (Bennett, 1995, p.16) Given earlier references in this thesis to barely concealed political hostility (pp.152 & 277) and overt parent hostility (pp. 277/278) towards Stepford, Sunderson's management strategy (if, indeed it was a conscious strategy) of "control and direction" (Bennett, 1995, p.16), rather than promotion of a vision of "exceptional" antiracist multicultural education, may have been the only means of ensuring its survival.

9.6 Processes for Relating to Communities of Interest.

Data analysed in chapter 7 identified the influence on Stepford's antiracist multicultural education developments of two institutional structures (see figure 9.1, p.341), set in the same kind of front-stage/ back-stage relationship as those concerned with policy in section 9.5, and leadership in section 9.6 above, but concerned here with the school's responses to external communities of interest's influences. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978, p.197-200) discuss organisations with two such symbolic structures, or false fronts, at least one of which is for

presentational purposes when seeking resources from their environments, usually government funding.

Central government's influence on rules and structures institutionalised in Stepford's wider environment has been discussed earlier (pp.348/349) but distinctions between other, less formal or structured external communities of interest were problematic. For example, some governors were also borough and county councillors and parents of students at the school, others were governors, parents and prominent members of ethnic minority groups. Collectively, they represented coalitions of minimal dissent from, rather than direct influences on, Stepford's "normal" school representations. Also, some external groups expected to show active interest in Stepford's "exceptional" antiracist multicultural education developments as Loamtown's Race Equality Council or local National Union of Teachers representatives, did not do so.

9.6.1 Loamshire and Loamtown Political Interests

Stepford's unstable environment (p.365/366) was partly the result of frequent shifts in Loamshire's and Loamtown's local political power. Party political differences were overt in attempts to prevent Midwich being built, to keep Eastwick open and to have Stepford located on Eastwick's site. Consequently institutional actors' policies and actions were characterised by calculated discretion (Young, 1981/1983: see pp.378/379) and few departures from long-standing social, cultural and educational norms that might attract elected Council members' attention.

Councillor governors with access to Loamshire's Education Committee brought national political agenda items into Stepford's governing body's meetings. Two years before the Education Reform Bill (1988) became law, Conservative councillor governors recommended "free enrolment" as a means of rationalising Midwich's surplus places. If sufficient students opted for the school, it would remain open: if they didn't, it would close. Thus, local politicians brought their national party political interests to bear on local institutions and individuals. It was also evident that local Conservative councillors, some as governors of first Midwich and then Stepford, campaigned vigorously against Midwich School before it was built, throughout its relatively brief existence and later as the site for Stepford. Local Labour councillors took the contrary view in each instance.

In these circumstances (p.378), Stepford's front-stage "normal" school strategies for relating to external majority group communities of interest represented an important organisational defence against hostile external political attentions and for gaining political legitimisation for its activities. Its main purpose, however, was to secure Loamtown's majority White parent population's legitimisation of its "normal" school activities whilst satisfying ethnic minority students, parents and other minority communities of interest that they were not being neglected.

9.6.2 Parents

Stepford's survival depended on parents enrolling their children at the school and ensuring their attendance, but a distinction was necessary between White and Black parents, and their different influences on its public impression management (Goffman, 1959). All headteacher

informants referred specifically to the need to recruit White students (p.268), ostensibly to achieve a culturally balanced student body, but also on the assumption that White students were more likely than Black to enhance the school's achievement profile.

It was also evident that White parents were perceived to be a valuable resource in their own right as articulate and well-connected lobbyists for the school (p.270). Contemporary newspaper reports and interview evidence attested (pp. 277-279), however, to the potency of 'race' as an issue negatively affecting White parents' attitudes towards, and relationships with, Stepford as a multiethnic school. Consequently, Stepford's frontstage "normal" school relationships with them (figure 9, p.341) were de-racialised, as evasion of questions about racism raised at the school's first annual Governors' report to parents meeting (p. 218) indicated.

Teacher informants referred to the different approaches made to prospective White and Black parents (pp. 269/270) prior to and during their visits to Stepford. White parents were reassured (pp. 267/268) that their children would receive a "normal" education at Stepford, and would not be distracted by ethnic minority students' presence. This was the implicit message of the publicity video about which Stepford's Multicultural Education Co-ordinator felt misrepresented the school's cultural composition for these purposes (p.273).

By contrast, few special efforts were made as part of either Stepford's "normal" or "exceptional" school representations to persuade ethnic minority parents to enrol their children at the school and were regarded as "a minor irritant" (p.268) if they visited it. As Stepford's first acting chair of governors observed (p.271), ethnic minority parents were

unlikely to discuss their children's education with the school, and were even less likely to express views about antiracist multicultural education. Black parents' interests were not neglected entirely but they were not held in the same regard as White parents as providers of student resources, and were treated accordingly.

Stepford's observed attempts to communicate with ethnic minority parents and their communities were characterised by cultural uncertainties, (p.273) were largely unsuccessful and not sustained. Parents' assumptions that it was the school's sole responsibility to educate their children or their "poor language skills" were given as reasons why standard forms of home/school communication were "a pointless exercise" (p.272). However, Stepford's Head of Languages observed that the school lacked "the will and imagination" to make that communication more effective (p.275). It was difficult to avoid the conclusion that more effective relationships with ethnic minority parents and communities were not an important aspect of either Stepford's "normal" or "exceptional" school representations.

The calculated negative consequences, in terms of diminishing White parent and student support, if 'race' and cultural diversity issues were accentuated, was arguably one of the main reasons why they were so understated at Stepford. It was unlikely that more Black parents and students would have been attracted to the school if antiracist multicultural education had been developed there. However, substantial financial resources might have been lost if the Home Office considered Stepford's strategies for responding to ethnic minority students' needs and their parents' inadequate. This resulted in Stepford's perpetuation and further development of Midwich's different representations of itself, and different kinds of relationships with, White and Black parents, and other communities of interest such as the LEA and the Home Office.

9.6.3 Community College and Community Education

Loamshire LEA's Community Forum initiative based at Stepford represented an attempt to break away from established perceptions of schools' relationships with their communities. At Stepford, it also exemplified the relevance of the "economic model" of institutional theory (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.177), with its emphasis on organisations' cost/benefit calculations about resources acquired from different communities of interest, to analysis of Stepford's communities of interests' influences on its institutional representations and responses.

Calculation of Stepford's possible advantages and disadvantages to be derived from active collaboration with the scheme, in which ethnic minority organisations were fully and actively represented, may have informed the school's decisions not to engage fully with it. Stepford's collaboration with the Forum might have yielded increased financial benefits but at some cost to the school's direct control of its own premises, finance and activities. The Forum's activities might also have detracted from Stepford's carefully contrived public image as a "normal" school if White adult participants perceived that Loamtown's ethnic minority communities' activities were too conspicuously represented. This, in turn, might negatively affect the school's recruitment of those White adults' children, perceived to be its most valuable resource and normalising influence in terms of immediate impression management and longer term academic standards improvement. The arguments advanced here are not significantly different, therefore, from those discussed earlier (pp.368-370) in relation to the school's direct links with potential and actual students' parents and are, at least, equally plausible.

Each community of interest identified here, with the Community Forum's possible exception, and informal coalitions between them and others, represented what Eastwick's deputy head described as "a force of reaction" to institutional change. Unlike parents in Gillborn's (1995) study, none were identified as prominent antiracist multicultural education change agents, only the Black parent governor indicating significant interest in any aspect of his own cultural interests at Stepford. The Community Forum's inability to secure control of, or space within, Stepford's environment offered no opportunities to develop its more culturally diverse influences on the school and no potential for developing antiracist multicultural education developments.

Stepford's attempts to inform or educate its communities of interest about antiracist multicultural education were few and frequently embarrassing. Indeed, it could be argued that the lack of antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford was attributable less to opposition from different external communities of interest, and more to the school's unwillingness or inability to make those policies' meanings and purposes explicit. Ouseley (1992, p.127) identifies "good communication", including communication with local communities, by organisational leaders or management of change agents, as the lynch pin of successful antiracist policy developments but it did not occur at Stepford.

Consequently, the economic model of institutional theory (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.177), in which the relative strengths of different communities of interest's legitimization of Stepford's social, cultural and educational activities, and the value of resources they could provide, informed its decision to emphasise its "normal" school representations and its relationships with majority, White communities of interest, and to understate its cultural

diversity and links with ethnic minority communities of interest subsequently. Subsequently, Stepford's traditional Adult Education programme for mainly White participants, under the school's immediate direction, flourished.

9.7 Processes External and Internal to Teachers

Teachers, considered in chapter 8 as internal communities of interest, experienced similar constraints on, and opportunities for (Woods, 1983), expression of their values, motivations and group norms as external communities of interest discussed in the previous section. Discrepancies between their espoused theories and theories in use (Argyris and Schon, 1974/1978), and their exercise of discretion (Young, 1981/1983), depending upon the degree of autonomy available to them, were set in organisational and environmental relationships that institutional theory (Meyer and Rowan, 1977/ Scott and Meyer, 1994) was helpful in interpreting, particularly contrasts between institutionalised and rational actors' behaviours (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.17).

The front-stage "normal" school and back-stage "exceptional" antiracist multicultural education model (figure 9.1, p.341) was again helpful in analysing influences externally and internally affecting teachers' behaviour. Midwich's introduction of the "exceptional" school facade and its development in exteriorised (Berger and Luckman, 1976) form at Stepford, meant that appointments could be made to it, staff could be notionally deployed within it and training could be devised, without affecting either school's "normal" structure. Individuals' institutionalised decision making was associated as a constraint with the "normal" school and rational decision making with "exceptional" school opportunities for development. However,

in a “broadened conception of rational actors” a concern for self interest, “even rational calculation”, is compatible with an individual’s apparently institutionalised characteristics (Scott , 1994, p.77). Therefore, individuals could occupy “normal” and “exceptional” school roles at the same time, particularly given loose coupling between them. This, in turn, affected the extent to which teachers were able to be part of the “user system” in any antiracist multicultural education developmental processes, given earlier evidence (p.241) that they had few opportunities to be part of any change agent system (Bolam, 1975). However, most exercised individual discretion in not identifying with antiracist multicultural education developments.

9.7.1 Processes External to Teachers: Recruitment and Selection, Deployment and Training.

Although Stepford appointed few new staff during my fieldwork period, data indicated that internal and external communities of interest, notably Loamtown LEA (p.291), influenced the appointment of individuals whose values and attitudes were considered “normal” in their former schools and their wider environments (p.293). This does not suggest that a single, unified cultural perspective prevailed at Stepford or its predecessors, or in the communities they served, but most teachers retained from Stepford’s predecessors or the few newly appointed were expected to fit into and contribute to Stepford’s frontstage “normal” school ethos (see figure 9.1, p.341). Others, such as the ESOL specialist, found professional accommodation (see p.376) in its “exceptional” backstage structures and processes but several, including teachers with specific antiracist multicultural education responsibilities moved between both depending on circumstances and audiences. Stepford’s organisational identity, therefore, as contributed to by individual teachers, was much less a product of

strategic staff recruitment, selection and training to develop specific responses to its unique, culturally diverse circumstances than a re-affirmation of Eastwick's and other, mainly White Loamtown schools' values by a process of "infusion" (Scott, 1996, p.57).

Earlier discussion (p.345) concerning organisations' "extraordinary uniformity" and individual actors' "fundamental character" in institutionalised situations, suggested that such uniformity is culturally determined, and that it confers social, cultural and professional legitimisation, and collective and individual benefits, on organisational actors demonstrating consistency with it. (Scott and Meyer, 1994, p.17). Predicted conflicts of teachers' attitudes, assumptions and professional behaviours when Eastwick and Midwich merged as Stepford did not occur, mainly because their shared professional socialisation meant that, although there were significant differences of attitude and understanding between individuals, their similarities as whole school groups were greater. Furthermore, although Midwich's teachers were described as self-recruiting (p.291) because of their multiethnic school interests, it was less certain that all were committed to antiracist multicultural education or, if they were, that they would express that commitment openly or practically. For example, one of Midwich's, subsequently Stepford's, internal, Welsh teacher community of interest was among the first to mention (p.324) the importance of maintaining Stepford as "a normal school", a view shared by his Black PE teacher colleague.

Several informants were certain that Stepford adopted no special measures to recruit teachers with antiracist multicultural education interests or experience; no informants, including Midwich's and Stepford's headteachers (p.222) had been asked about such interests

at interview (pp. 294/295), and Black and Asian informants did not believe that their ethnic identity had influenced their appointment (p. 312).

Teacher deployment in the interests of antiracist multicultural education developments was adversely affected by frequent changes in Stepford's organisational structures and job specifications leading to inconsistencies between them and individuals' roles and responsibilities. All of this contributed to an organisational climate of uncertainty within which all antiracist multicultural education change agent and user behaviour needs to be examined.

Where tighter coupling existed between formally designated roles and individual teachers' actions, as in the instance of Stepford's ESOL specialist, the headteacher was more concerned to reassure external communities of interest that they enabled "normal" teaching to continue, by catering specifically for ethnic minority students' needs, than to explain how they contributed to Stepford's antiracist multicultural education practices (p.268). The ESOL specialist stated (p. 298) that he had never felt part of the "normal" staffing structure at either Midwich or Stepford, and it could be argued that his headteacher's assertion (p.192) that six more Section 11 teachers were needed was intended to make Stepford more "normal" by relieving more mainstream teachers of responsibilities for ESOL learners in their groups. For the same reasons, other teachers' part-time deployment in a variety of nominal, backstage antiracist multicultural education roles might also have been for "presentational purposes" (Scott, 1994, p.179) although, additionally, it also absorbed teachers surplus to Stepford's calculated entitlement that its management team hoped to retain.

Training could have offered Stepford teachers opportunities for antiracist multicultural education professional development but what was provided from 1989 to 1991 (pp.304/305) as a nominal Section 11 staff development strategy was also recognised as a constraint. Recognising that their antiracist multicultural education “knowledge base” (Lieberman and Miller, 1992, pp. 7-9) and skills were weak, they identified (p. 304) a need for “practical” training to enable them to respond more effectively to their ethnic minority students. Stepford’s Senior Management Team’s insistence that nothing more substantial than “consciousness raising” training should be offered may be perceived, therefore, as an organisational defensive routine (Argyris, 1992) adopted to satisfy external, Home Office scrutiny that the school was complying with Section 11 funding requirements whilst the school’s “normal” practices and its teachers’ knowledge base and practices continued affected.

9.7.2. Processes Internal to Teachers: Teachers’ Assumptive Worlds.

Woods’ (1983) identification of influences “internal” to individual teachers includes their commitments, interests, values, special understandings and abilities, not necessarily consistent with those of their school and perceived mainly as opportunities to effect change and development. Young (1977, p.1) identifies values as important influences on individual decision making and his framework (1981, p.42; see figure 2.6, p.69) for conceptualising a person’s total subjective experience as their “assumptive world” informs chapter 8’s discussion of the exercise of discretion as a “barrier to implementation”.

Data analysed in chapter 8 concerning individual Stepford teacher's responses as "rational actors" (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996, p.17) to antiracist multicultural education developments suggested that, whether or not their antiracist multicultural education values and knowledge bases were well developed, they were far from being institutionalised "cultural dopes" and were, more probably, "rather active, sometimes skilled users of culture" (Scott, 1994, p.76). "constantly engaged in calculating the cost benefits of different action choices" (Tolbert & Zucker, 1996, p.176). Therefore, few of them were as institutionally socialised and constrained as discussion above (p.376) might suggest, although only Stepford's Head of Science seemed willing and prepared to attempt to "delegitimise the old and establish new institutional models" (Scott, 1994, p.77) by developing aspects of antiracist multicultural education. In other words, although formal organisational structures and job descriptions located them nominally in Stepford's front and backstage representations, they were unlikely to exercise any interpretive or innovative influence (Scott, 1994, p.57: see figure 2.3, p.39) in the latter and very little in the former.

Cognitive elements of individual Stepford teachers' assumptive worlds (pp. 318-320), revealed former Midwich teachers' assumptions that their former Eastwick colleagues knew little, and had no wish to know more, about Stepford's multiethnic characteristics. However, Midwich's Black PE teacher, also confessed little knowledge about his Asian students' cultural backgrounds. It is not surprising, therefore, that Herbert Sunderson was "disappointed" to discover that he knew "a darned sight more" about multicultural society than many of his new colleagues at Stepford (p.226). Although Stepford teachers identified improvement of their antiracist multicultural education knowledge base and related practical

skills as important training needs (pp. 302/303), most would have had no need of them given their frontstage, “normal” school roles.

Distributions of teachers’ stated support for, or opposition to, antiracist multicultural education developments in figure 8.1 (p.321) and figure 8.2 (pp. 323), representing their assumptive worlds’ affective elements, suggested that few teachers were opposed to them and that women were more likely to view them positively than men (p.323). There were no firm indications that former Eastwick teachers were more opposed to such developments than their Midwich counterparts or that Stepford’s Science teachers held significantly different views from their Languages teacher colleagues. In other words, there seemed to be no reason, in principle, why teachers should have represented any impediment to antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford if their competitive status as organisational developments could be calculated as likely to confer benefits, rather than incurring penalties, for teachers and school alike.

However, the extent to which individual teachers felt able to relate personally or professionally to developments in which ‘race’ and cultural diversity were operative, or to give expression to “cathectic” elements of their assumptive worlds, depended on a range of variables which included their autonomy within specific organisational or community contexts. For example, two former Eastwick, fundamentalist, born-again Christian teachers (p.325) had particular difficulty in relating to multi-faith religious education.

Few teachers, whether or not antiracist multicultural education was consistent with their assumptive worlds’ affective or cathectic elements, felt able to take directive action (p.329)

personally in its development at Stepford given their own levels of interest, understanding and expertise, but mainly because of its inconsistency with Stepford's "normal" school organisational structures and practices. However, Dora Leeboddy observed (p.329) that most of her former Midwich colleagues, having chosen to teach in that multiethnic school, had not considered the practicalities of teaching a curriculum that reflected different cultures. This demonstrated the importance of combined elements of teachers' assumptive worlds if developments were to occur.

A drama teacher's suggestion (p.330) that younger, more recently appointed teachers, previously unconnected with either Eastwick or Midwich, might transcend Stepford's "normal" school resistance to antiracist multicultural education developments ignored the possibility that their assumptive worlds might be no more attuned to Stepford's development than their more experienced colleagues'. Crucially, it also ignored the school's unevenly distributed organisational power relations in terms of, for example, experienced White and male "normal" school teachers by comparison with their Black and predominantly female "exceptional" school colleagues.

Evidence derived from data analysis informed by reference to individualism in institutional theory (Tolbert and Zucker, 1996), discretion theory (Young, 1983) and theories of action (Argyris and Schon, 1978), therefore, indicated discrepancies between teachers' espoused support for antiracist multicultural education developments and their actions. This, together with their discretion in avoiding direct involvement in, or responsibility for, any developments not perceived to be in their own or their school's best long term interests, meant that they were conspicuous in neither change agent nor user system (Bolam, 1975) roles at Stepford.

9.8. Ethnic Minority Teachers.

If ethnic minority group teachers' experiences had been examined individually and integrally as part of all teachers' experiences, as if they were "normal" members of staff, observations about their under-use and mis-use (Baptiste et al, 1990) might have been dismissed as incidental. However, analysis of their collective experiences as a distinctive community of internal interests (pp. 308-317) reveals consistent patterns of assumptions made about them and disadvantages they experienced at Stepford and its predecessors. Given the importance that all headteachers interviewed said they attached to appointing ethnic minority teachers (p.311), it was surprising that so few had been appointed to either Eastwick or Midwich, and that so few remained at Stepford by the time my fieldwork ended, suggesting further discrepancies between headteachers' espoused theories and their theories in use. Stepford made no special efforts to recruit ethnic minority teachers and, in two instances (pp.313 and 315), their ethnic identity was misunderstood by colleagues.

They were unlikely to be appointed (p.309), or promoted (p.313) to positions of whole school responsibility involving them in any leadership or change agent role in Stepford as a "normal" school, or to any key role in the school's antiracist multicultural education structures. This was exemplified by a Bengali teacher's non-appointment (p.309-310) to a pastoral post shortly before Eastwick's and Midwich's merger, resulting in Employment Tribunal allegations of racial discrimination. This Head of Year post represented an opportunity to appoint an ethnic minority teacher to a senior pastoral post as part of Stepford's

“normal” school structures and processes but that might have been perceived, particularly in the former Eastwick’s catchment area, as inconsistent with its public image.

Rationalised institutional structures, with shared meanings and understandings, were expected to “allow day to day activities to become routinized and taken for granted”, so that individuals might attain their highest ideals. (Scott 1994, pp.57/58) However, there is an “underlife” within organisations that “delineates what are considered to be officially appropriate standards of welfare, joint values, incentives and penalties” (Goffman 1971, p.179), imposing an identity on their members consonant with those values and expectations. Thus, Stepford’s rationalised multicultural education structures and processes, and assumptions made about ethnic minority teachers as individuals and as a group, disadvantaged most of them and impaired their potential effectiveness as change agents.

Stereotypically, most ethnic minority women teachers occupied Section 11 or other ethnic minority student support roles on the assumption that their cultural and linguistic experiences automatically qualified and equipped them for that work. The school’s male Urdu teachers’ deployment on “community liaison” duties was recognised by at least one informant as inappropriate, given schisms between different mosques in the community, and his “traditional” attitude towards the education of girls, particularly those beyond compulsory school leaving age but with no evident career benefits for either of them.

Stepford’s backstage organisational arrangements concerned with linguistic and cultural diversity provided unsatisfactory experiences for ethnic minority teachers and their students (p.316), reinforcing stereotypical impressions of them, particularly women, as working only

with ethnic minority students. However, it could be argued that, in this way, they enabled the school's wider social evaluation as "normal" and helped to ensure its survival. Of the ethnic minority group teachers interviewed who were part of this structure at the start of my research, none remained at Stepford when it ended (p.312).

9.9 Racism

Racism, and racial disadvantage, at different structural levels and through different modes of expression (Lee, 1983: figure 2, p.19) were readily recognisable in this chapter's discussion of ethnic minority students' examination results (pp. 354-355), communities of interest's influences on antiracist multicultural education developments (p.368) and ethnic minority teachers' experiences (380-382). It has been argued (pp. 20/22) that the Education Reform Act's National Curriculum and open enrolment measures respectively racially disadvantaged ethnic minority students directly and indirectly at a structural level but no overt individual expressions of racism were recorded at LEA and school level although some reservations about cultural diversity were noted.

Although specific or direct questions about 'race' equality were not put to informants, it was perceived that Stepford's "normal" school structures and processes did not represent Black or Asian teachers proportionally at the same levels of responsibility, or ethnic minority students at the same levels of academic achievement, as their White contemporaries. There was no evidence that these circumstances were the consequences of institutional racism but literature reviewed (Karn, 1996) and empirical data analysed indicate that it would be

surprising if they were not. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out as a factor affecting antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford.

9.10 Summary

Perceptions of Stepford as both “normal” and “exceptional” school (figure 9.1, p. 341) are inconsistent with the notion of institutions as concrete realities although both may be recognised as “relatively stable patterns of interaction based on a process of interpretation by organisational members” (Hoyle, 1986, p.17). Both may also be recognised as “enabling forces” and as “barriers and constraints” in relation to cultural expression (Duignan, 1988, p.81). In their different contributions to Stepford’s complex, ambiguous and paradoxical institutional characteristics, its “normal” and “exceptional” school representations comprised different kinds of inclusion and exclusion arrangements, ideological compatibilities and incompatibilities, symbols, language and meaning, and considerable differences in perceived legitimacy. Consequently, they were only loosely coupled representations of the same school.

Indicators of Stepford’s “normal” school resistance to antiracist multicultural education developments have been clearly identified at the beginning of this chapter. (pp.337-338) The “normal” school institutionalised structures and processes responsible for those outcomes, which I argue should be school leaders’ or antiracist multicultural education change agents’ main interest, may be characterised as follows.

- Representation and expression of the prevailing political and cultural hegemony influencing other levels of educational decision making.

- Sedimented institutional histories, philosophies, norms and values, and shared individual professional understandings concerning the four categories of concepts (figure 9.1, p.341) as an unstated ideological basis for, and medium in which, individuals make sense of their lives.
- Representation and expression of rationalised and institutionalised wider environmental characteristics including class, gender and 'race' inequalities and disadvantages, with no strategies for changing them through education.
- Formal organisational structures and processes broadly in common with other schools catering for pupils or students of similar age, regardless of their ability or cultural background.
- Discrepancies and inconsistencies between formally stated policies and actions they are intended to inform, their limited dissemination, no plans for their implementation or strategies for monitoring their effectiveness, together with the exercise of , considerable individual discretion within unstated ideological parameters.
- Emphasis in policy statements on cultural assimilation through ESOL learning, some reference to cultural diversity but understatement of 'race' equality.
- Leadership that contributes to, and is part of, informal hierarchies and networks that preserve the cultural status quo in education through transactional approaches to management concerned with delivering established expectations of schooling, and which avoids transformational leadership activities involving other members of staff in the development of different visions of the school.

- Symbolic organisational structures and procedures for relating to different communities of interests' influence in accordance with their perceived value as legitimators of its activities, providers of resources, or both.

- Little attempt to inform or educate majority communities of interest about educational issues, such as antiracist multicultural education, inconsistent with their assumptions about the nature and purpose of education.

- Individual teachers compliance with “normal” school authoritative stated and unstated institutional policy development structures and procedures.

In addition, my research indicates that a backstage “exceptional” antiracist multicultural education representation of the same “normal” school (see figure 9.1, p. 341) may be a normal characteristic, enabling it to convey impressions of relating to lesser or non-legitimizing and non-resources providing communities of interest, and acting as its “normal” school public image’s organisational defensive routine (Argyris, 1992, pp.102-105). Therefore, further characteristics of the “normal” school may be identified as

- Separate antiracist multicultural education policy development strategies and espoused policies only loosely coupled to “normal” school policy processes and policies in use.

- Approaches to antiracist multicultural education leadership inconsistent with “normal” school transactional leadership and management, ostensibly transformational but changing nothing in the “normal” school’s activities.

- Separate symbolic organisational structures for relating to ethnic minority groups and individuals, and minority resources providers,
- Individual posts of antiracist multicultural education responsibility, or posts directly relating to ethnic minority students, which may or may not be effective in terms of their stated purposes.

The “exceptional” school’s separate, loosely coupled backstage categories of concepts and their properties satisfied certain internal and external groups that antiracist multicultural education was in place at Stepford and, at the same time, protected its “normal” school structures and procedures from the need for change. I contend, therefore, that the “normal” school would be less likely to exist as such without the “exceptional” school’s protection which can be recognised as posing a greater challenge for antiracist multicultural education management of change and development processes than the “normal” school itself.

Actual or intending change agents engaging in developmental activity to change or adapt Stepford’s “normal” school’s formal structures and procedures, including those acting on behalf of central government, were likely to discover that their efforts had altered or added to Stepford’s “exceptional” school structures and processes without affecting its front stage “normal” structures and processes.

My research aims were partly satisfied in terms of identifying the “normal” school, its structures and processes, and categories of concepts as factors negatively affecting antiracist

multicultural education developments at Stepford. It suggested that, in this instance, “exceptional” school characteristics contributed to negative developmental outcomes, but there were indications that its categories of concepts could guide and support successful antiracist multicultural education developments in different circumstances. In other words, my research’s second aim, to improve understanding of the management of those developments as a school improvement strategy in culturally diverse schools, was also partly satisfied. More specifically my research enabled me to identify and describe ways in which individuals and organisations make order and sense of conflicting cultural and educational demands of them in unstable environmental circumstances.

Conclusions and recommendations, together with some observations about my experiences as researcher are given in the few pages that follow.

In this chapter I conclude that “normal” and “exceptional” school organisational defensive routines were responsible for antiracist multicultural education’s non-development at Stepford. I also reflect on some of my experiences arising from putting the research design and methods discussed in chapter 3 into operation and consider their effectiveness in identifying and examining factors affecting Stepford’s antiracist multicultural education developments.

I conclude that whole school and community antiracist multicultural education development should be the change agent’s goal and that related research should also adopt wide ranging social and organisational perspectives as an extended process over time. I also discuss inspection processes that do not adopt these perspectives, and discourse as a possible indicator of “internal” factors affecting individual informants’ responses to antiracist multicultural education. I also reflect on my own subjective experience as researcher.

Recommendations are made concerning both the management of antiracist multicultural education developments and related research.

This thesis began with a Swann Committee (1985, p.344) statement about the urgent need for development of a “broad based pluralistic approach to education” to take account of contemporary Britain’s changed and changing cultural composition as experienced in schools. The Committee also observed that a main reason for “the disappointingly slow rate of progress in recognising and responding to this challenge [was] the absence of a coherent overall strategy for stimulating developments and co-ordinating initiatives”. The research described here, therefore, was intended to identify that kind of strategy at Stepford School and Community College. In particular, it was intended to identify factors positively and negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments to inform their implementation as a school improvement strategy. (see pp.4 and 5)

Cumulative and iterative data analysis revealed Stepford’s “normal” school structures and processes, protected by its “exceptional” school organisational defensive routines, as barriers to antiracist multicultural education developments. Four categories of concepts,

- policy and its expression through curriculum activity;
- leadership;
- communities of interest, and
- individual teacher characteristics,

separately and in interaction, each comprising a range of different related properties, and all set within a defined organisational field, were the main factors contributing to the “normal” school’s negative effects on developments.

“Normal”, for the purposes of my research, was taken to mean established, institutionalised and rationalised cultural and ideological influences affecting educational decision making at all levels identified in Lawton’s (1983: see figure 2.4, p.45) model. Consequently, it could also be applied to central and local government, and majority communities of interest internal and external to schools, to describe an extensive cultural hegemony resistant to antiracist multicultural education developments. However, the Race Relations Act (1976) and Section 11 administrative requirements, and the Swann (1985) and Eggleston (1986) reports, contributed to legal, moral and educational expectations that education would play its part in working towards a just and fair multiethnic society.

Some of the problems experienced by schools trying to respond to those expectations were identified at Stepford and analysed in this thesis. Stepford and, to a lesser extent, its predecessor Midwich, consciously or unconsciously, developed a strategy whereby their “normal” school activities could continue largely unaffected by antiracist multicultural education. This comprised different, loosely coupled, sometimes de-coupled, representations of its activities so that, for most day-to-day purposes, its “normal” school structures and processes occupied a front-stage position whilst its “exceptional” antiracist multicultural education structures and processes were located backstage. Depending upon audiences and purposes, Stepford’s “exceptional” school representation, or certain categories of concepts and their properties comprising it, might be brought frontstage and emphasised. The example most frequently cited throughout this thesis was Stepford’s multicultural education policy, brought frontstage for purposes of securing Home Office Section 11 funding but not evidently affecting the school’s “normal” curriculum. Intending internal and external antiracist multicultural education change agents, therefore, were likely to find themselves dealing with different complex, contentious and ambiguous representations of the same school, their efforts to effect

change in frontstage “normal” school activities usually being diverted to, or neutralised by, backstage “exceptional” school activity.

Given the substantive issues' wide ranging and complex nature, fewer research conclusions than those drawn here were not anticipated. Each in its own right represents a potentially powerful influence on developments and an interesting and useful focus for further related research. It is also suggested that antiracist multicultural education developments are unlikely to be implemented and sustained as intended, or related research to be revealing, unless the following issues are addressed.

10.1. Factors affecting antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford School and Community College.

Stepford's “normal” school and, by association, its “exceptional” school factors negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments were revealed by my research to be :

10.1.1. The “normal” school as organisation.

(i) Stepford's institutional structures and processes' degree of uniformity with the schools from which it was formed, and with other schools serving different populations and purposes, whether or not they were consistent with observed needs and stated purposes.

(ii) Its “normal” public image, ethos and values, including educational values, also consistent with those of most other schools, and with majority cultural and educational values in the wider environment.

(iii) The symbolic nature of its “normal” and “exceptional” school organisational structures, for purposes of gaining legitimization of its activities or resources from different communities of interest.

(iv) The loose coupling and, in some instances, decoupling of its “exceptional” antiracist multicultural education structures and processes from “normal” school structures and processes.

(v) Frequent alterations to, or removal of, Stepford’s formal antiracist multicultural education organisational structures, and uncertainties about specifically designated individuals’ responsibilities for different aspects of its delivery and development.

These organisational factors can also be elaborated as categories of “normal” school management categories of concepts comprising properties negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford as follows.

10.1.2 Policy and Curriculum

(i) Stepford’s “normal” school policy documentation’s multicultural education statement with which senior management team members were not obviously identified, which was not disseminated to all members of staff and for which no plan for its implementation, monitoring or evaluation was devised.

(ii) The multicultural education policy’s extensive and detailed references to cultural diversity and equality of educational opportunity but, by comparison, understated references to antiracism.

(iii) Lack of wide and more genuine consultation with communities of interest about the policy’s development, and reservations expressed about the probable negative consequences of making it a public document.

(v) Discrepancies between the espoused policy and policies in use, and no evidence of their effect on the school's "normal" structures and processes, particularly in terms of curriculum development, ethnic minority students' curriculum access and their achievement.

10.1.3 Leadership

Factors affecting Stepford's "normal" school antiracist multicultural education developments' leadership and management of change were:

(i) Headteacher and governing body uncertainty and ambiguity about antiracist multicultural education developments' long-term benefits for Stepford, and no evidence of their vision of Stepford as an antiracist multicultural school.

(ii) Uncertainty about individual responsibilities for different aspects of Stepford's antiracist multicultural education services and its whole school development.

(iii) Teachers with specific responsibilities lacking time and perceived authority to exercise antiracist multicultural education leadership, and no clearly identified internal managers of change and change agents..

(iv) Reliance on external antiracist multicultural education expertise and leadership.

(v) Inducements and rewards for individuals nominally appointed to antiracist multicultural education teaching and other posts, but complying with those posts' non-developmental expectations and maintaining Stepford's cultural status quo.

(vi) Assumptions about young, new or ethnic minority teachers' antiracist multicultural education leadership interests, abilities and opportunities.

(vi) Assumptions about young, new or ethnic minority teachers' antiracist multicultural education leadership interests, abilities and opportunities.

10.1.4. Communities of interest

Factors affecting antiracist multicultural education developments arising from Stepford's "normal" school's relationships with, and responses to, external communities of interest were identified as:

(i) Stepford's isomorphic relationships with majority group coalitions of minimum dissent from its "normal" school ethos, values and monocultural disposition.

(ii) Significant parent and politician opposition to Stepford as a multiethnic school, and evidence of racism affecting parents' choices of their children's school.

(iii) Incidental individual community representative interest in specific aspects of antiracist multicultural education, but no sustained impetus or collective power to effect change.

(iv) Different evaluation of majority and minority parent communities of interest in terms of the legitimacy they conferred on Stepford's activities or student resources they supplied, and their ability to protect and further its "normal" school interests.

(v) Publicity about Stepford representing White majority communities' of interests' expectations, and inhibitions about representing minority communities of interests' expectations.

(vi) Differential majority and minority group inclusion in, or exclusion from, Stepford's activities on the same basis. Minimal evidence of consultation with ethnic minority communities of interest about the school's meanings and purposes for them in its particular location and cultural circumstances (see item 10.2.3, p.393 above).

(vii) Unwillingness to engage actively with formal or informal communities of interest to develop shared Community College and community interests.

10.1.5. Individual teachers.

Factors external and internal to Stepford's teachers negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments were identified as:

(i) Teacher recruitment, retention, deployment, training and career advancement consistent with preservation of the school's cultural status quo, including the appointment of teachers from Eastwick to Midwich, before and at the time of the merger, contributing to a direct line of cultural succession from Eastwick to Stepford through "infusion".

(ii) Teacher uncertainty about antiracist multicultural education's meanings and purposes, their exercise of professional discretion in giving minimal practical classroom or pastoral expression to it and their reluctance to be seen to be taking responsibility for its whole school development.

(iii) Teachers' inability or unwillingness to relate personally to antiracist multicultural education on educational, religious, or career grounds.

(iv) Stereotypical assumptions about ethnic minority teacher antiracist multicultural education interests and abilities. (see item 10.1.3 (vi), p. 395)

(v) Conversely, an unwillingness to confer whole school antiracist multicultural education development responsibilities on ethnic minority teachers for which their personal, professional and cultural characteristics qualified them.

(vi) On the one hand, over-socialised teachers compliant with Stepford's institutionalised 'race' and cultural diversity norms and values;

(vii) On the other, individual teachers as rational calculators of antiracist multicultural education developments' net benefits, balancing personal with organisational interests within the constraints and opportunities of available alternatives.

10.1.6 Racism

Racism was also identified as a factor affecting developments at Stepford although it was my declared position not to assume that it would be (p.83). It remained no more than a possible influence on developments until examination of empirical evidence in part 2, and of Black students' and teachers' collective experiences discussed earlier (pp. 382-383) suggested that unintentional and unconscious institutional racism (Lee, 1983: see figure 2.2, p.19), as a feature of the "normal" school, and overt racist hostility towards Midwich and Stepford in the community, were two, at least, of the reasons for antiracist multicultural education's non-development at Stepford.

However, data indicated that a wider range of influences than racism alone were responsible for antiracist multicultural education's non-development at Stepford. Indeed, it could be argued that the same broad categories of concepts comprising the "normal" school, or what Stepford's headteacher described as "the way in which we work", were also responsible for Stepford's unwillingness to engage genuinely in Loamshire's Community Forum initiative.

These conclusions have clear implications for intending antiracist multicultural education managers of change, as identified in recommendations in the final section of this chapter, and for researchers, as discussed in the two sections that follow.

10.2 Reflections on the research process.

My third research question, addressed only incidentally by data analysis in part 2 and in chapter 9, concerned ways in which antiracist multicultural education developments might be most effectively researched in multi-ethnic secondary school settings (see p.6)

My research strategy was conditioned by factors such as:

- what would be manageable by me as a lone researcher with full time responsibilities as an LEA adviser working in all schools in Loamshire, and required to alter my relationship with Stepford during my fieldwork;
- what would be acceptable to the school in terms of reasonable access;
- ethical considerations, also linked with questions about sustained access.
- the strategy's effectiveness, or fitness for purpose, in addressing emergent (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, p.37) research questions.

An assumption examined implicitly throughout this thesis is that antiracist multicultural education development is more complex, affecting all organisational members and all aspects of organisations, and more contentious, because value laden, than many other kinds of educational developments (see p.31). There was also a possibility, confirmed by events at Stepford, that developments might not occur because they were badly managed, because their relevance was unclear or because they had been evaded or resisted. Therefore, I became more

interested in factors affecting changes in users' understanding, attitudes and practices as "a process over time" (Bolan, 1979) than management of change outcomes.

Perhaps the most inevitable finding, therefore, was that research into the management of antiracist multicultural education developments entails complex organisational, social and personal considerations by the researcher. It was less obvious at the outset than later that the scale and diversity of research issues involved would entail extensive periods of fieldwork, and time spent subsequently ordering and analysing very different kinds of research data. One of the greatest difficulties I experienced as a lone researcher, therefore, was in sustaining a presence at Stepford and in its wider environment, and examining such a wide range of whole school issues over my three year fieldwork period. Allied to this, and to ethical issues discussed later, were difficulties and dissatisfactions in being unable to discuss or share written reports with other researchers, particularly ethnic minority and women researchers, in the same context. I conclude, therefore, that the kind of research in which I engaged is most effectively carried out by a multiethnic and mixed research team.

My research experience suggested that the balance between research ethics, access and the validity of empirical research data were particularly delicately poised in this instance, that those issues were contingent on social relations in the field (Ball, 1990, p.36) and, in turn were directly affected by ways in which I was perceived by my research subjects. Aspects of these issues not discussed in chapter 3 are discussed in the sections that follow.

10.2.1 Access: an incomplete, fragile and changing state

Research access to schools and personnel concerned was fully and willingly offered in most instances but formal research approval, and apparently friendly interest in my research, did not mean automatic, unlimited or unqualified access to all or necessarily reliable sources of evidence. I was already aware of sensitivities about 'race' related issues at both Midwich and

Eastwick before I commenced my field research given my professional involvements with them. I was also aware that the three headteachers and their immediate senior colleagues exercised considerable discretion in circumscribing my insights into their schools, and that other individuals at different times and for different reasons were tentative and circumspect in their interactions with me. Ball's prediction (1990, p.39) that researchers may find their research access restricted at the very times when events most crucially affecting change occur proved accurate in this first research phase. It is likely that my LEA role, and uncertainties about the kinds of insights I might glean about the school's activities normally hidden from the most senior LEA officers, were among the reasons why I was unable to gain access to confidential gatherings such as senior management team meetings and a governors' finance sub-committee. On the other hand, several members of staff in all three schools were frequently unguarded, frank (often about colleagues) and confided in me about, for example, the misuse of Section 11 funding (pp.299-300). I was apprehensive about trying to resolve the dilemmas that these revelations represented, knowing that if I acted on any of this information, my research presence was likely to be untenable. My conscience was salved to some extent by a growing recognition that SMT or LEA personnel with more direct school management responsibilities knew as much about specific misuses or abuses as me, but were either unwilling or unable to take necessary action.

My research access was also affected briefly when my confidential student shadowing report was openly referred to in a staff meeting, impairing my credibility as a confidential researcher (see p.140). This confirmed the importance of Burgess' (1985, p.180) observation that, "identification of the researcher with the gatekeeper [.....] may create suspicion among the researched", and Bryman's (1988, p.4) that "Researchers must resist attempts by adversaries within organisations to use them as sources of information about each other".

It is unlikely, however, that many of my research's school-based subjects, including senior management team members, recognised its developing emphasis on management issues. Any unintentionally covert researcher behaviour this implied on my part might have been redressed if members of Stepford's staff had collaborated in my research but that would have presented further ethical dilemmas in terms of their access to data gathered from restricted sources and in confidence from their colleagues. This issue was resolved for me by their unwillingness or inability to engage in such a shared research relationship. However, the ethical uncertainties about the extent to which research subjects' consent to research access is fully and currently informed could occur again if similar research strategies were attempted.

Given my LEA antiracist multicultural education responsibilities, it was anticipated that some research subjects might be wary of my observation and questioning. At least one "played up" an eccentric role in interviews and Stepford's head, particularly towards the end of my fieldwork, attempted to "second guess me and "beat me at my own game". (Argyris, 1992, p.428). In May, 1991, when my lines of enquiry began to encroach on Stepford's "normal" school interests, Sunderson complained to Loamshire LEA about my perceived relationship with the Black parent governor, Dale Coba, that he felt conflicted with my impartiality as a researcher and Stepford's best interests generally. Realisations that the longer I remained in the research context, the more likely I was to penetrate dramaturgically constructed organisational facades and individual "representations of self" (Goffman, 1959), becoming more aware of fundamental inconsistencies between the school's and individual subjects' stated positions and their actual behaviour (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 233), may have been responsible for these reactions. Although the complaint was withdrawn, it affected my own confidence in the ease and quality of access I had enjoyed at Stepford.

None of these research dilemmas and sensitivities might not have been so important if Stepford had been a more openly reflective learning organisation as discussed in this chapter's final section but they were also affected by social, professional and "normal" school relations affecting my own interpersonal relations with research subjects.

10.2.2 Social relations in the field.

Research relationships with Black teacher informants were affected by "the influence of categorical identities on the possibilities of data collection" Ball (1990, p.36), and earlier theoretical discussions of the issues (pp. 135-137) proving relevant. For example, interviews with Harry Crankhart (27.05.1988) in the first research phase, and with Harjinder Kaur (16.05.1990) in the second, were clearly affected by their perception of my role and status as a White, male representative of their employing LEA. Although Black informants comprised a comparatively small source of evidence, their perceptions of Stepford's antiracist multicultural education developments, and accounts of their own experiences of Stepford's formal organisational structures and practices, were important. Extensive verbatim interview extracts were incorporated into analysis of evidence they provided (pp.308-316) to demonstrate, by reference to Troyna (1993, p.107-108) that I had

- gained valid and useful information from them despite perceived differences of status, power and cultural experience between us;
- not pathologized their Black experience. Very considerable differentiation is recognisable in the ways in which their different experiences are represented.

- avoided conveying impressions that I might reinterpret evidence gathered to act as unofficial ombudsman on their behalf.

Given that they, like most other informants, did not disagree with transcripts of their interviews, I have no independent means of testing whether or not I achieved these aims but they were essential to the kind of research described here.

10.2.3 Researcher as subject

Earlier discussion indicates that my research became more directly participative in Stepford's affairs at the beginning of the second fieldwork phase than it had been in the first, and that it became less so in the third as Stepford regained something of its predecessors' poise in holding antiracist multicultural education developments in undeveloped suspense. It also seemed that the longer I remained in the Stepford research context, and the more familiar I became with its meaning systems, behaviour patterns, and constitutive and normative rules (Scott, 1994, p.57: see figure 2.3, p.39), the more consciously and unconsciously subject I became to the organisational culture in which I was working.

I was obliged to reflect, for example, on ways in which my professional development role (p.213) had been used to relieve Stepford's SMT of responsibilities for issues it might otherwise have been obliged to address (or explain its neglect), again at some risk to organisational stability and to concepts of Stepford as a "normal" school. I concluded that my involvement served a number of organisational and local micro-political purposes. For example, the "Section 11" training programme I facilitated satisfied Home Office administrative criteria that training should be provided whilst, at the same time, absolving Stepford personnel from any direct responsibility for it. An impression could be conveyed by the school that this particular kind of professional development was not a "normal" part of the school's activities, was required by outside agencies such as the LEA and the Home Office, and was managed by "an outsider". If there was dissension, such as that expressed by the Science

Teacher Governor verbally and by another member of staff in his training evaluation response (pp. 304-305), or if "anything went wrong", blame would be directed at the outsider, rather than the senior management team and the school could not be held responsible. If antiracist multicultural education developments did not occur, the school could claim that the professional development programme was at fault, or that, if I as the "expert" had been unable to achieve significant individual professional development, how could anyone else be expected to do so?

Finally, if my research drew any adverse conclusions about antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford, it could be claimed that the research itself had had an inhibiting effect on developments planned, as intimated by the Multicultural Education Co-ordinator in response to my request to observe antiracist multicultural education policy development in action (p.174), and by the Headteacher's complaint to my LEA line manager about my relationship with the Black parent governor.

Thus, I became "subject" in both meanings of the term as used by Foucault (1974); I was subject to Stepford's management team in acting on its behalf in a way that might have impaired my access to naturalistic research evidence, and I became subject of my own research in that I was obliged to study my own influence on the outcome of events.

10.3 Issues arising from the research experience

The research described here also identified certain issues that seemed likely to reveal other insights into antiracist multicultural education developments' management at Stepford, or into standard procedures for multiethnic school evaluation for other purposes, if examined further. Two that could not be considered in the framework of this thesis are offered here as examples.

10.3.1 Language, 'race' and research

Second research phase data analysis, notably the Headteacher's second interview, and later retrospective reflection (Elmore, 1981), confirmed my interest in the power of language, particularly talk, in conditioning the context within which, and the processes through which, decisions were articulated and evaded at Stepford and its predecessors. It also suggested links with my earlier interests in schools conceptualised as "cultures" and with my growing interest in individual participants' subjective frames of reference (rather than my own), and how they were constructed, and the role of language in, not only defining meanings and purposes of antiracist multicultural education at Stepford, but also in serving functionally to define and express Stepford's cultural parameters and organisational climate. "The structure of language is often said to 'mirror' the structures of the world as it is seen by a particular community". (Pit Corder, 1973, p.70) In the third research phase, particularly, Stepford was viewed, to some extent, as a language or "speech community" (Gumperz, 1968).

For example, at the end of his first interview, the Head affirmed his interest in my research and expressed interest in eventually knowing how successful his attempts had been

"to alter the learning environment in the school in line with what our perceptions are of what they ought to be. (Your research) would be most helpful. I mean, I'll use any tool I can in promoting multicultural education or promoting the learning environment for all our students. I'll use any means I can lay my hands on to force my colleagues into awareness and I don't mind how long it takes".

It is not surprising that, with these comments in mind, I commenced the second research phase with considerable optimism that both Stepford's professional development programme for which I was responsible and my related research would be approved and appreciated, and might directly contribute to antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford.

However, subsequent events suggested that the Head, was engaging in "structural reflexivity", "a fundamental fact of our communicative life. What is ritualised here, in the last analysis, is not an expression but a self-other alignment - an interactional arrangement".

(Goffman, 1981, p.117) Van Dijk's (1987) theories of "self and other attribution" in 'race' related discourse also recognises that, for most individuals, it is always "others" who represent opposition to necessary developments. The Head, therefore, was engaging in a form of interpersonal impression management (Goffman, 1959), recognising our shared commitment to antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford but ensuring that I knew that, if they did not occur, it would be the fault of others.

If informants can be as intentionally or unintentionally misleading as this example and Miles and Huberman (1984, p. 233) suggest, requiring the researcher to move into a different or more investigative mode, discourse analysis offers the possibility of revealing some of the factors affecting antiracist multicultural education internal to teachers and other informants that might otherwise remain obscured.

10.3.2 Antiracist Multicultural Education Research and Inspection compared.

In 1994, I qualified as an OFSTED team inspector and presented a paper to an Open University audience in March 1996 concerned with differences between researching and inspecting antiracist multicultural education. Data examined here and Runnymede Trust

evidence (1990) indicated that factors affecting antiracist multicultural education developments in schools have been addressed less than satisfactorily by teams of OFSTED inspectors. OFSTED's inspection schedule circumscribed 'race' equality issues within broad equal opportunities guidance, and cultural diversity issues within guidance about students' "social, moral, spiritual and cultural" experiences. Consistent with observations about central government's and the Department for Education and Employment's minimal interest in antiracist multicultural education noted throughout this thesis (pp.168, 180, 210, 254-255), OFSTED has relegated 'race' and cultural diversity in education issues to OFSTED's own backstage location and order of priority. No DFEE technical paper guidance on equal opportunities generally or on 'race' and cultural diversity issues specifically, or a framework for reporting on these issues, were issued during the period of my research, and responsibility for reporting on them at inspection was frequently delegated to lay inspectors although, in principle, all inspectors were expected to contribute to that reporting process.

Van Dijk's (1987, p.14) observation that the reproduction of ethnic prejudice in society can only be studied adequately through interdisciplinary research approaches, informed my own perception that the heavily structured, objective, checklist methods employed in my research 's first phase would be inadequate to reveal underlying reasons for the success or otherwise of antiracist multicultural education developments. At best, they might confirm that such developments have, or have not occurred.

Furthermore, OFSTED enquiries about equal opportunities and cultural issues are confined to individual schools as relatively closed institutions. It is not possible, therefore, for inspectors to state whether whole school antiracist multicultural education policies and practices are consistent with local expectations and interpretations. What OFSTED inspection reports fail to convey, is the random complexity of social relations between individuals, communities of

interest, and social and organisational networks that affect not only substantive antiracist multicultural education developments, but also full and genuine research access to them and the reliability of data gathered. (Ball, 1990, p.39) It is also important that inspectors, like educational researchers, take account of their own presence, its effect on developments studied and their findings concerning them.

All of this critically compares and contrasts my own experience of organisational and management research in contexts in which 'race' and cultural diversity are operative, with OFSTED inspection evidence and, by implication, any preconceived checklist approaches to analysing and evaluating contentious whole school developments. Ultimately, what is important is that research methods should be consistent with the purposes of the research (Woods, 1979) or inspection and it is not evident that OFSTED inspection's are intended to take account of 'race' and cultural diversity issues as part of their "normal" procedures.

Gillborn argues (1995, p.99) that there is no doubt that antiracist multicultural education needs to be developed on a whole school basis if it is to have significant impact on "traditional patterns of student experience, success and failure". (see p.47) It is concluded that antiracist multicultural education needs to be inspected in the same way that it needs to be developed and researched as a cumulative and iterative process over time within the mainstream of the "normal" school's activities and with special attention to its policy development process, leadership, and relationships with communities of interest external and internal to each school. This is the substance of the approach to antiracist multicultural education as a school improvement strategy adopted in my article with Saini (Lee and Saini, 1996) on which most of the recommendations in the final section of this chapter are based

10.4 Recommendations

Among questions addressed by my research was whether or not certain school organisational types are more conducive to antiracist multicultural education developments than others (p.33). At Stepford, considerable emphasis was placed on “getting the structures right” but it was not evident that any of its structures introduced during my fieldwork period had any direct or positive effect on antiracist multicultural education developments. Data analysis also indicated that attempted piecemeal change in one part of a school’s structure or its processes was unlikely to effect sustained developments. Furthermore, discussion in the previous chapter suggested that no antiracist multicultural education school improvement purposes were likely to be served by replacing the “normal” school with the “exceptional” school. Both were perceived to be facades of the same school and, however mutually dependent they were as part of Stepford’s rationalised and institutionalised structures and processes, neither comprised the whole school or organisational system.

Therefore, a fundamentally different kind of school may be necessary in urban contexts in which ‘race’ and cultural diversity are operative. Seashore and Miles (1990, pp.12-13), discussing cultural diversity “as a fact of life in almost all urban high schools”, suggest that the “press towards uniform treatment of very different schools may be counterproductive”. Herbert Sunderson, in his last interview, in June, 1991, having recognised that my interests were not only in antiracist multicultural education as a separate development, or in the loosely coupled, backstage structures and procedures representing it at Stepford, talked about new whole school developmental processes in which equality of opportunity was “pivotal”. As such, equality of opportunity would affect Stepford’s “ethos, its beliefs system, its value system” and “the way in which we run the school” in a more open and participative manner. Much of his subsequent elaboration of this theme indicated an intention to move Stepford towards becoming “a self-

managing school”, effectively the kind of “learning organisation” (Senge, 1990/ Beare and Slaughter, 1993/ Sergiovanni, 1994/ Southworth, 1994) discussed earlier (pp. 35/36).

Such schools are characterised, above all, by individual teacher “capacity building” (Fullan, 1995, p.232-234) in terms of:

- Individual teachers’ understanding of education’s moral purpose in making a difference to the lives of all students, especially those who are disadvantaged, and about how “diverse multiethnic students learn and develop”;
- Teacher leadership as “expertise in context” entailing the development of specific knowledge, understanding and skills necessary to “grapple with questions about where their community, state or province and country are heading [.....] within the givens of increased multicultural, multiracial and multilingual existence”;
- That same kind of individual teacher expertise in context in making “strong ties with organisations and associations outside the school”, especially through “connecting parents to learning, and culturally relevant teaching and partnering with other educative agencies and institutions”, and
- Development of skilled collaboration between individual teachers responsible for changing the norms and practices of the entire school (and for that matter the entire profession).

These learning organisation characteristics were not evident at Stepford and were entirely inconsistent with both the “normal” school public image it tried to promote and preserve, and the “exceptional” school facade that contributed to its preservation. Consequently, it was not

possible to examine Stepford as a learning organisation per se or in the antiracist multicultural education development terms identified here, but it is argued here, and in my article with Saini (Lee and Saini, 1996), that whole school developments characteristic of learning organisations are more likely to be successful and lasting than attempted piecemeal change of the “normal” school.

None of this is to deny ethnocentrism, mono-culturalism and racism as factors negatively affecting antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford or elsewhere. My empirical research indicates that several respondents felt that Stepford's viability as a school would be jeopardised if it overtly adopted antiracist multicultural education. This may be restated as fears that the school would be unable to continue its "normal" structures and processes if such developments were implemented and sustained. Still further questions were begged about whose interests were really being served by the various devices used to represent the school as something other than its self-evidently multi-ethnic self. However, the research described here provides a better platform of understanding than existed previously to inform and guide intending antiracist multicultural education change agents and researchers at Stepford and elsewhere.

Questions also remain about whether teachers can develop the learning organisation skills identified above and whether schools, particularly multiethnic schools such as Stepford, can become learning organisations. Above all, this entails “a commitment to telling the truth, especially to oneself” about the kind of organisation that each school is. Furthermore, “many problems continue to exist because we think they are inevitable, because we don’t want to rock the boat, because we think we will shoulder the blame, because it is someone else’s job to worry about this issue”. (Isaacson and Bamberg, 1992, p.42)

Although my research's time scale was extensive and, apparently, conclusive, the end of my research involvement did not necessarily indicate that antiracist multicultural education developments at Stepford would not occur. Further visits to the school, as in Smith and Keith's (1971) "Kensington" study, would be necessary to take stock of more recent developments - or their continuing non-development.

A quotation from the Swann Committee report (1985) introduced this account of my research into factors affecting planned antiracist multicultural education developments. Another Swann quotation summarises and refines the main factors affecting developments in Stepford and its predecessors identified by that research.

"Multicultural education can only develop positively from a serious analysis of the cultural and racial assumptions in the "normal" British education system. The rejection of an ethnocentric approach requires a commitment to equality which can only come from within each individual. It is a commitment which is either total or non-existent". (p.323)

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ASPECTS FOR REVIEW

School policy

In what ways has the school responded to the ILEA policy statements and position papers on multiethnic education?

How far is the school integrating multiethnic policies and practices into its overall framework of operation?

Equality of opportunity

Does the school demonstrate, in its organisation and in what it offers to pupils, an understanding of the complexities and subtleties of providing for equality of opportunity?

Racism

Have the damaging effects on pupils' lives of all forms of racism been examined by staff in order to formulate a school policy?

Is the school developing strategies for opposing racism within the curriculum and through extra-curricular activities and counselling?

Curriculum

To what extent does the curriculum reflect, in its stated objectives and in its content and activities, that our society is multiethnic?

Classroom strategies

Are teachers aware of the role they play in creating an atmosphere and in using methods which encourage pupils from a range of cultural backgrounds to work together?

Resources

Do the school's resources reflect the needs of pupils learning in a multiethnic society? Is the full range of cultures within society represented in the school's resources?

Language

Are staff knowledgeable about the linguistic 'repertoires' of their pupils?

Are special needs - for example, to learn English as a second language - being met?

Is the validity of pupils' dialects recognised in the language work of the school?

Ethos and atmosphere

Does the school actively seek to promote the positive value of our multiethnic society?

How is this shown in the attitudes of the pupils, in the curricular and extra-curricular programmes developed by the school, and in the resources used to support these activities?

Support and care of pupils

Do staff value pupils both as individuals and as members of particular ethnic or cultural groups?

Is an awareness of the circumstances and influences which affect pupils' lives reflected in the arrangements of the school?

Staff development

How are teaching and non-teaching staff encouraged to develop knowledge, skills and experience appropriate to their roles in a multiethnic school?

Is the experience individuals can offer to the school from their own cultural backgrounds considered to be an important dimension of staff selection?

Parents and their communities

Has the school developed means for liaising and collaborating successfully with parents over the education of all their children?

School to work

How effectively does the school inform and advise pupils from all ethnic groups about the range of work in our society?

How does it monitor their experience in the transition from school to further or higher education, training, work or unemployment?

Pupils

Does discussion with pupils indicate that they have a positive approach to learning and that they actively contribute to the life of the school, and do they feel that the school offers them genuine equality of opportunity?

APPENDIX 2

PHASE 1 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (February, 1988 - August, 1988)

**EASTWICK & MIDWICH BACKGROUND ("ORIENTATION") INFORMATION
PRIOR TO ANTIRACIST MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT
("IMPLEMENTATION") AT STEPFORD.**

RESPONDENTS:

HEADTEACHER, TEACHERS AND ANCILLARY STAFF

**LOAMTOWN BOROUGH & LOAMSHIRE COUNTY COUNCILLORS
(modified) September - November, 1988**

Elicit any information about

- (1) the setting up of the school
- (2) the catchment area
- (3) feeder schools
- (4) staffing
- (5) school policy -general
- (6) curriculum policy
- (7) From the outset, was multicultural and/or antiracist education, a planned feature of the school's policies and practices?

If yes, how was this expressed -

- (i) as policy statement
- (ii) overt curricula
- (iii) hidden curriculaassemblies, exhibitions
- (iv) staffing
- (v) training
- (vi) any other ways in which multicultural and/or antiracist education could be recognised in the school?

If no, was multicultural and/or antiracist education introduced into the school later as planned management of change or innovation?

(i) as a whole school approach or

(ii) piecemeal?

In either instance, give specific examples.

(8) Have certain faculties or subject areas shown special interest in multicultural and/or antiracist education?

(9) Have certain individuals been more closely identified with its development than others?

(10) Have certain faculties or subject areas been more resistant to its development than others?

(11) Have certain individuals been more resistant than others?

(13) Has there been - and if so - what has been the effect of "external assistance", influence or pressure concerning antiracist multicultural education from

(i) Central government

(ii) Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools

(iii) Researchers

(iv) Local "politicians"

(v) LEA Inspectors and advisers

(vi) LEA administrators

(vii) Multicultural Education Support Services

(14) What has been the role(s) of "internal groups" or individuals such as

(i) Governing body

(ii) Parents

(iii) Professional Associations?

in relation to antiracist multicultural education developments.

(15) How would you describe the school's ethos and practices in terms of

- (i) multicultural education
- (ii) antiracist education

now?

(16) What do you consider to be the single most important task for the school in terms of

- (i) multicultural education
- (ii) antiracist education

in the future?

(17) Which other individuals or groups in or associated with the school would it be helpful for me to speak with about antiracist multicultural education?

(18) Are there any documents that I should read?

(19) Are there any other matters affecting antiracist multicultural education development in the school that I ought to know about?

(20) Thanks- Promise of confidentiality - Transcript and letter later

	Organisation Theory	Curriculum Management	Financial Management	Human Resources Management	Managing the Boundaries
Policy	PO	PC	PF	PP	PB
Equal Opportunities	EOO	EOC	EOF	EOP	EOB
Opposition to Racism	ORO	ORC	ORF	ORP	ORB
Curriculum	CO	CC	CF	CP	CB
Languages	LO	LC	LF	LP	LB
Classroom Practice	CPO	CPC	CPF	CPP	CPB
Resources	RO	RC	RF	RP	RB
Extra-curricular activities	ECO	ECC	ECF	ECP	ECB
Pastoral care	PCO	PCC	PCF	PCP	PCB
Home, school and community	HSCO	HSCC	HSCF	HSCP	HSCB
Careers and employment	CEEO	CEEC	CEEF	CEEP	CEEB
Professional Development	PDO	PDC	PDF	PDP	PDB

APPENDIX 3: Research phase 1 data coding framework

APPENDIX 4: Example of research phase 1 coded interview transcript

we've got to make sure that keeps rolling. I think we've got to work on the kids for obvious reasons but I hope that's going to filter through and the parents as I said are going to be educated from it. It's not going to be easy.

DL What are the strategies going to be to help this mixing and educating?

GD Well, some of the strategies are laid down in the curriculum. For example, the choice in the fourth year offers Bengali, Urdu, German, French, Latin. It's there for everybody so, no excuses....."Oh, I can't send my son there, they don't offer Latin". *Eastville* No complaints there. Same thing here. Double language.

The only thing that is going to have restrictions put on it is what happens in June and July when the government get this.....The Education Act through. On this "stricter control", every child must do a language - which we've got out of this year - but every child, regardless, will have to do a second language. This will be, you know, the National Curriculum. I know some of the people who are going to have problems are the mugs here. Because I know some of my lesser ability boys, they can't do the Punjabi because they're English boys. They can hardly do English as their first language and they're going to have to do either French or German and I know who'll be kicking up. German teachers will be coming up, "He's not behaving in there. What can I do with him?" But the government says he's got to do it. Curriculum in general has got a lot to answer for but the curriculum certainly is getting them together from over there.....

You see, most of the ethos of the school is *middle* based. We haven't got the same strategies as they have. We don't block them 1, 2 & 3: we divide them down the middle and we spread like that.

DL One of the things that R. spoke about that I found fascinating was the relationship between the pastoral side and the curriculum side. The matrix approach. I wondered if it was something you saw as an obvious strategy, something to be taken on board and how that might affect the future?

Well, I asked at my interview, "Will I haveI want to know what goes into the curriculum. I think there ought to be an input from the people who pick up the pieces as to why the curriculum isn't working. But very seldom are you asked about this. There is going to be a very wide PSE programme, life skills and all this business, you know, Don. It's very important that the people who are pushing this across - because they're very sensitive areas - when you're talking about Apartheid or prejudice, stuff like that.

DL Who's going to handle that?

GD Well, what we've tried toI don't know who's actually going to be doing it as such, but the Head of Year tries to get....You see, B. who organises the

Wilfred Williams.

21.03.88.

10.30 - 12.30

H38 Hwy.

(page 16/18)

cc

cc

cc

cc. cc.

cc

oro

PSE programme, the Head of Year comes in and tries to look after his own Year group - not all at the same time- obviously with the larger numbers that we have, you've got to rely on the old tutor first of all to pull things through in tutor time. But we've not only had a nucleus of PSE who've been doing it for a few years, who teach alcohol and drugs and across the board and sensitive issues like these prejudices, whether it's Northern Ireland or whether it's S. Africa and so it goes on.

W. H. Williams
21.03.88
(cont'd.)
page 17/18

cc

You'd think from what I've told you that the Head of Year's got enough on his plate wouldn't you? That's without the day to day.... "Haven't got my tie today. Mam's lost it in the wash", and all this business. And so it goes on you know, Don.

I'm hopeful for the new school.... 'Cos, at P... my wife teaches at P... - I go into P... quite a lot and they've got Black Tom, they've got that mix and it seems to go bloody well. I'm quite impressed with their school. It seems to be a nice atmosphere about it. I want that here if I can. I want a nice atmosphere. Doesn't mean to say, you know, never bend over backwards to please any race creed or colour. If there's trouble, there's trouble and that's been my motto really in teaching. If he's a bad boy and he's a black boy, you deal with him. I don't care if he has got a chip on his shoulder about me being racist, I deal with the problem not.....some of them forget that sometimes. I've been around too long to worry about things like that. They know it. I either taught his Dad or his brother and I know that, basically, there's only a small handful of families who're anti-... round here or whatever. I've got the support of brother. I say, "He's a bloody good kicker, this boy". "You give it to him, that's the answer". I say, "I can't. But you sort him out". It goes on from there you see, Don.

PCO

I'm hoping I'm going to have the new intake, to set the tone. And I want to get in with the kids. I want the kids to know one another and set up lots of things that they do together; take them away on trips if I can. Because, if it works, it'll be terrific for the school, it'll be terrific for the kids in it. They've got so many things to rub off on each other it just isn't true. And the friendships here that develop between blacks and whites and sometimesthey're terrific they are. Big mates, you know, and they areYou know that's the environment they're growing up in. You know, it's no good putting your head in the sand. You know that's the way it's going. My daughter's at E... and old John Williams, you know John Williams, our governor.... Tina, the coloured girl that John's got, she used to come to Lucy's parties. It was just another girl that was quite friendly with her. Other girls, other black girls that she wasn't friendly with because they weren't nice girls. End of story. You know, you get on with people you

EAB

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2

January, 1989 - August, 1991

(IMPLEMENTATION PHASE)

Respondents

**FACULTY TEACHERS, TEACHERS WITH SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITIES,
HEADTEACHER, PARENT GOVERNOR & SECTION 11 MONITORING OFFICER.**

**(Also used as a basis for less structured interviews in Phase 3 concerning mainly individual perceptions, understanding, change behaviour and leadership:
September, 1991 - July, 1992)**

- 1. Something about the interviewee's own background of experience - including any training or curriculum development work, or new responsibilities, touching on multicultural or antiracist education.**
- 2. Interviewee's own interpretation of multicultural and/or antiracist education's [the innovation's] meaning and purpose**
- 3. Interviewee's knowledge about policy developments, position statements or guidelines about multicultural and/or antiracist education. [National, LEA, school, faculty....]**
- 4. Nature and extent of interviewee's prior and present commitment to multicultural and/or multicultural education [or relevant socio-political involvements].**
- 5. Developments in multicultural and antiracist education that the interviewee anticipates could occur in the school.**
- 6. Interviewee's perception of the key change agents; the sources of change and development. Internal and/or external?**
- 7. Interviewee's perception of what is likely to be needed if the innovation is to succeed. i.e definition of staff roles; INSED....**

8. Interviewee's perception of possible problems that might be encountered in trying to implement multicultural and/or antiracist education.
9. What would interviewee consider to be indicators of successful implementation of multicultural and/or antiracist education?

DL/13.05.89
& 18.05.90.

March

1990

8 Thursday STEPFORD U.S.

67-298. Week 10

HS most agitated. Just rec'd news that 40 white pupils will go to Sharnbrook instead of Biddenham this means two teachers lost - at least.

Realisation that "white flight" will mean more concentration on black issues - 1811 time to make Biddenham's image/role clear and be damned for it if necessary - ie Use S.11 properly - offer good basic curriculum plus access for all.

H. J. VI Form: looking for bridging course for certain 18 year sixth minor's ethnic group pupils

I suggest a more forthright - highlighted statement about the school's objective.

I refer Khan's comments from 12/12/89 about the central government formula for funding LEA's additional to S.11 given number of minority ethnic group pupils.

HS offers to accommodate me in SMT and curriculum group.

HS self-terminating - absent or need parents meeting - tired and ill through travelling from X town.

Thanks for my shadowing report which confirms his worst suspicions about some senior members of staff not accepting responsibility.

Any teacher I recommend is under scrutiny for familiarity.

March

T	F	S		M	T	W	T	F	S		M	T	W	T	F	S		M	T	W	T	F	S		M	T	W	T	F	S
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31

Personnel problem of SH being used for proper purposes and pressure from Modi

1990

See red field
wordbook.

March

Week 10. 68-297.

BIDENHAM US. - Pondshill. Friday 9

* Session on Passage to India for Head of Exlin

Informed by X that

Head has passed my shadowy reports to
Heads of faculties and bottlenecked staff about
seriousness of their attention to their duties.
John sees these two matters as linked.
with this damage my credibility?

Ask Walter Eckhardt. about Language Faculty
access for interview - checks how long before
this happens - how many letters it takes
what kinds of pressures staff, mainly Faculty
Heads are under.

IEA
Discussions at my own bases about Community
Education proposals - no understanding by or
intended response from Support teams. What
does this indicate in terms of multi-cultural
education as a necessary community related
provision?? What price STEPPORD. help able
to articulate the links if M.E.S.P. can..?

April

S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30